

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ collect
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Classification

121576

SE ONLY

23 JUL 69 19 07Z

Origin ACTION: Amembassy PARIS IMMEDIATE

Info STATE

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FOR FERGUSON FROM ACTING SECRETARY

1. Believe it would be useful for you to arrange to speak to Houphouet, who we understand is in Paris, to obtain any views or ideas he may have on solution relief problem.
2. If Houphouet should offer thoughts on wider issues of war, including political moves aimed at cease fire or peace settlement, you should welcome such suggestions and state that any USG reactions will be conveyed at later date.

END

RICHARDSON

121576

XR POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

POL 7 IV CST

Drafted by

AF/W:DSSpigler:7/23/69

Tel. Ext.

2724

Telegraphic transmission and

classification approved by: AF:Ambassador Moore

Clearances

U - Mr. X... Ruser
U/CF - Mr. Schott
S/S - Mr. Brown

AF/CW:RReed

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Classification

FORM DS-322
8-65

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DECLASSIFIED

Authority VND959503
By MNA Date 10/5/05

(11)



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 319

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16
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, UPW 01, UCF 05, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02,

INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12,

SCS 04, SCA 01, RSR 01, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, /158 W
104426

R 231400Z JUL 69
FM AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2729
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L LIBREVILLE 766

SUBJECT: BIAFRAN CHILDREN

REF: LIBREVILLE 570, STATE 68828 NOTAL

1. TOTAL BIAFRAN CHILDREN GABON AS OF JULY 17, 1969: 2933.

2. THESE CHILDREN CARED FOR BY FOLLOWING ORGANIZATIONS AT FOLLOWING PLACES:

(A) FRENCH MILITARY HOSPITAL, LIBREVILLE : 177.

(B) JOINT GERMAN CARITAS-DIAKONICHESWERK CENTER 11 KILOMETRES EAST OF LIBREVILLE: 1501.

(C) CARITAS INTERNATIONAL CENTER, LIBREVILLE: 499.

(D) CARITAS INTERNATIONAL CENTERS OUTSIDE LIBREVILLE: 166

(OYEM 44, FRANCEVILLE 30, FOUGAMOU 11, BITAM 51, OKONDJA 13, LAMBARENE 17).

(E) CHILDREN FOR WHOM CARITAS INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBLE AND HOUSED WITH PRIVATE FAMILIES LIBREVILLE: 17.

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Libreville
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PAGE 02 LIBREV 00766 291011Z

(F) SCHWEITZER HOSPITAL, LAMBARENE: 40.

(G) NEW TERRE DES HOMMES CENTER JUST SOUTH OF LIBREVILLE: 485.
(FORMER TEMPORARY TERRE DES HOMMES CENTERS LIBREVILLE NOW CLOSED).

(H) DICESE DE MOUILA: 48.

3. ADDITIONAL 859 CHILDREN BROUGHT TO LIBREVILLE SINCE PROGRAM BEGUN OCTOBER 17, 1968, FLOWN ON TO BOUAKE, COCODY, AND GRAND BASSAM CENTERS, IVORY COAST. NONE TAKEN TO OTHER COUNTRIES.

4. LIST OF ORGANIZATIONS INVOLVED IN ASSISTANCE TO BIAFRAN CHILDREN GABON REMAINS SAME AS PARA 7, LIBREVILLE 570.

5. UNABLE AT THIS TIME ADD NEW INFO TO THAT PROVIDED LIBREVILLE 570 RE FINANCING AND PERSONNEL ASSISTING BIAFRAN CHILDREN.

6. ACCORDING FRENCH MILITARY ATTACHE, AS OF JULY 17, 1969, FRENCH RED CROSS HAD MADE 261 FLIGHTS BIAFRA SINCE INAUGURATION PROGRAM (ONLY TWO BEING UNABLE LAND ULI) AND DELIVERED 1461 METRIC TONS MEDICINES AND FOOD IN ADDITION TO AIRLIFTING CHILDREN TO GABON.
NELSON

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Pol 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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SECRET 292

PAGE 01 PARIS 11170 231852Z

47
ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, DODE 00, CIAE 00, USIE 00, /071 W
066176

O 231845Z JUL 69
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5676

S E C R E T PARIS 11170

LIMDIS

REF: PARIS 11166

FOR UNDERSECRETARY FROM FERGUSON

SUBJ: NIGERIA/BIAFRA

1. SCHUMANN (FONMIN) PROMISED APPROACH BIAFRANS
RE ATTENDING CROSS RIVER MEETING GENEVA. FULL REPORT
FOLLOWS SEPTTEL.

GP-2. SHRIVER

PARIS-11170
7-23-69

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Principals and "S" Area

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Geographic

AF 5
ARA 9
EA 11
EUR 10
NEA 8

Functional

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Other

WH 10
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DOD P
CIA P
USIA 4
PC

Other

ACDA 5
AID/EXSEC 3
AA/AFR 2
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AA/EA 3
AA/NESA 2
TRSY 6
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POC 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
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PAGE 01 GENEVA 02582 231906Z

47
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,
NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, UCF 05, UPW 01,
AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, RSR 01, 158 W
----- 066283

R 231731Z JUL 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2258
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USUN NEW YORK 3350

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE GENEVA 2582

PARIS FOR AMB. FERGUSON

SUBJECT: NIGERIA - ICRC

1. SWISS RADIO BROADCAST TODAY SAID ICRC DELEGATION IN BIAFRA MOST UNHAPPY OVER NAVILLE'S STATEMENT AT PRESS CONFERENCE JULY 17 TO EFFECT BIAFRA FAMINE NOT REPEAT NOT YET CRITICAL. ICRC PERSONNEL IN BIAFRA HAD FLATLY STATED DEATH RATE FROM STARVATION WAS RISING RAPIDLY AND WOULD REACH CRISIS LEVEL WITHIN DAYS.

2. JUST HEARD UNCONFIRMED RUMOR THAT JAEGGI HAD RESIGNED. COMMENT: NAVILLE'S COMMENTS WERE SIDELY MISUNDERSTOOD. WHAT HE ACTUALLY SAID WAS THAT MASS STARVATION LEVEL NOT REPEAT NOT YET REACHED BUT THAT PEOPLE WERE LIVING ON THEIR LAST "PHYSICAL CAPITAL RESERVES". THESE WOULD SOON BE EXHAUSTED AFTER WHICH THERE WOULD STAND NOTHING BETWEEN THEM AND DEATH. NAVILLE'S PRESS CONFERENCE WAS NO REPEAT NO GREAT SUCCESS. GIVEN SCARCE NEWS HE HAD OR WAS WILLING COMMUNICATE, SEVERAL PAPERS TOOK HIM TO TASK FOR CALLING PRESS CONFERENCE IN THE FIRST INSTANCE. IN THIS CONNECTION MISSION ADVISES STRONGLY AGAINST FERGUSON PRESS CONFERENCE UNLESS HE ABLE GIVE OUT SOME HARD REPEAT HARD NEWS.
TUBBY

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State
TELEGRAM

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 02573 231635Z

47
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,

NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, UCF 05, UPW 01,

AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, RSR 01, /158 W
----- 065127

R 231600Z JUL 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2251
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USUN NEW YORK 3343

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 2573

PARIS FOR AMB FERGUSON:

1. LABOUISSIE MENTIONED TODAY THAT HE AGAIN CABLED SYG LAST NIGHT SUGGESTING A) SOME MOVE BY SYG TO APPROACH OJUKWU THROUGH THIRD PARTY AND B) GENERAL HUMANITARIAN APPEAL TO ALL CONCERNED. LABOUISSIE EXPRESSED UNHAPPINESS SYG'S INACTION IN NIGERIAN WAR RECALLING THAT HE HAS BEEN RUGING HIM FOR OVER A YEAR ON BEHALF UNICEF TO BECOME ACTIVE IN RELIEF PICTURE.

2. YESTERDAY LABOUISSIE MET BISHOP BLAKE/WCC. LATTER EXPRESSED DISCOMFITURE OVER NEED CONTINUE NIGHT FLIGHTS IN VIOLATION FMG SOVEREIGNTY. HOWEVER, BLAKE INDICATED NORCHURCH LEADERS HAD FEWER SCRUPLES THIS RESPECT. BLAKE HAD VOICED WILLINGNESS MAKE WCC AVAILABLE FOR MISSION TO LAGOS BUT HAD NOT STATED DETAILS RE NATURE MANDATE OR PRECISE OBJECTIVE SUCH MISSION. (THIS PROBABLY REFERS TO PREVIOUSLY REPORTED OFFER BY WCC TO ICRC MAKE CANON CARR AVAILABLE FOR LAGOS CONTACT WORK.)

3. LABOUISSIE EXTENDING HIS STAY IN GENEVA IN ORDER SEE FERGUSON TO DETERMINE HOW UNICEF CAN BEAT ASSIST BREAK IMPASSE AND SUPPORT RELIEF OPERATION.

COMMENT: UNDERSTAND CARR/WCC HAS NOT YET RETURNED TO GENEVA DUE CAR ACCIDENT IN LAGOS. EXPECT OBTAIN SOME INFORMATION

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By MVA Date 10/5/05



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PAGE 02 GENEVA 02573 231635Z

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By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05



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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, EUR 17, IO 13, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CCO 00, CIAE 00,

DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02,

SS 20, UPW 01, AID 28, SCS 04, SCA 01, SR 01, ORM 03, RSR 01, 140 W
065983

O P 231750Z JUL 69 ZFF-1
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2257
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USUN NEW YORK 3349
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

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PARIS FOR AMB FERGUSON (NOTIFY AT HOTEL CRILLON)

THE FOLLOWING IS A MARKPRESS RELEASE DATED OWERRI, JULY 23.
QUOTE: TITLE: OPEN LETTER FROM THE BIAFRAN GOVERNMENT TO PROFESSOR C. CLYDE FERGUSON WITH REFERENCE TO STATEMENT BY SECRETARY OF STATE, WILLIAM ROGERS.

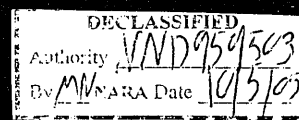
" THE BIAFRAN GOVERNMENT HAS NOTED WITH APPRECIATION THE CONTINUING INTEREST SHOWED BY THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT ON THE QUESTION OF PROVIDING RELIEF TO ALLEVIATE THE SUFFERINGS OF BIAFRAN VICTIMS OF NIGERIA'S WAR OF GENOCIDE AND, IN PARTICULAR, THE RECENT STATEMENT MADE BY SECRETARY OF STATE, WILLIAM ROGERS, ON THE SUBJECT.

THE BIAFRAN GOVERNMENT WISHES TO INDICATE ITS COMPLETE AGREEMENT WITH THE THREE FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS ENUNCIATED IN SECRETARY OF STATE, WILLIAM ROGERS' STATEMENT:

"FIRST, THAT THE PROVISION BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY ON ASSISTANCE TO BOTH SIDES IN A WAR SHOULD HAVE INTERNATIONAL PARTICIPATION TO ASSURE THAT IT IS ADMINISTERED FOR THE

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 02581 231826Z

BENEFIT OF THE CIVILIAN VICTIMS OF THE WAR.

SECONDLY, THAT THE RELIEF BE TRANSPORTED AND DISTRIBUTED IN WAYS THAT CONVEY NO MILITARY ADVANTAGE OR INCUR NO MILITARY LIABILITY TO EITHER SIDE.

THIRDLY, THAT THE PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT REFRAIN FROM EXPLOITING RELIEF ISSUES FOR PARTISAN, POLITICAL AND PROPAGANDA PURPOSES."

" THE BIAFRAN GOVERNMENT WISHES TO REAFFIRM ITS ACCEPTANCE IN PRINCIPLE TO DAY/NIGHT RELIEF FLIGHTS WITH DAYLIGHT OPERATIONS TO ULI AIRPORT COMMENCING IMMEDIATELY. EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONAL OR OTHER THIRD PARTY GUARANTEES HAVE ALSO BEEN AGREED. THE BIAFRAN GOVERNMENT ALSO WISHES TO REAFFIRM ITS CONTINUED ACCEPTANCE IN PRINCIPLE OF THE SURFACE ROUTE (CROSS RIVER) PROPOSED BY PROFESSOR FERGUSON IN MARCH AND ACCEPTED BY THE BIAFRAN GOVERNMENT ON THAT OCCASION.

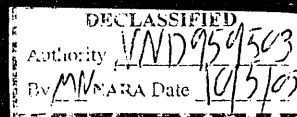
THE BIAFRAN GOVERNMENT WISHES TO RECALL THAT DURING HIS VISIT TO BIAFRA LAST MARCH, IT WAS CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD AND ACCEPTED BY PROFESSOR FERGUSON ON BEHALF OF THE US GOVERNMENT THAT NEITHER LAGOS NOR ANY NIGERIAN HELD AIRPORT SHOULD BE USED AS STAGING POST FOR BRINGING RELIEF BY AIR. CALABAR AND LAGOS WERE ALSO RULED OUT FOR THE SURFACE ROUTE OPERATIONS AS AGREEMENT WAS REACHED TO USE COTONOU OR A SHIP ANCHORED IN MIND-OCEAN FROM WHICH RELIEF COULD BE TRANSPORTED BY BARGES OR HELICOPTER.

THE BIAFRAN GOVERNMENT WISHES TO EMPHASIZE THAT IT HAS ALWAYS BEEN WILLING TO LET NIGERIAN REPRESENTATIVES INSPECT THE RELIEF MATERIAL AT STAGING POSTS OUTSIDE NIGERIA, SUCH AS COTONOUR AND SANTA ISABEL SO AS TO ASSURE THEMSELVES THAT THEY ARE GENUINE. BIAFRA STILL STAND BY THIS. THERE CAN BE NO QUESTION, THEREFORE, OF BIAFRA ACCEPTING RELIEF COMING FROM OR TOUCHING DOWN ON ANY NIGERIAN HELD TERRITORY. THE BIAFRAN GOVERNMENT EXPECTS FOR THAT, IN FAIRNESS, BIAFRAN REPRESENTATIVES WILL HAVE THE SAME RIGHT, TO INSPECT RELIEF GOING INTO NIGERIA.

IT IS WELL KNOWN THAT THE SHORTEST AND MOST ECONOMICAL ROUTE IS FOR RELIEF TO COME DIRECT INTO BIAFRA FROM THESE NEUTRAL STAGING POSTS. TO CHANNEL OR DIVERT THEM TO NIGERIA WOULD BE TO OFFER THEM POLITICAL AND MILITARY ADVANTAGES WHICH IS IN CONFLICT WITH

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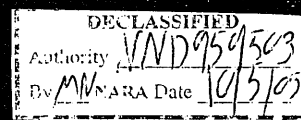
PAGE 03 GENEVA 02581 231826Z

TWO THE FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS ENUNCIATED BY SECRETARY OF STATE, WILLIAM ROGERS, AND ACCEPTED BY THE BIAFRAN GOVERNMENT AS INDICATED ABOVE. ON THIS SCORE, THE FIRST PROPOSAL IN SECRETARY OF STATE, WILLIAM ROGERS' SUBSEQUENT FOUR-POINT APPROACH FOR A NIGERIAN STAGING BASE FAILS TO MEET THE TEST OF NEUTRALITY AND EARLIER UNDERTAKING THAT RELIEF SHOULD NOT BE USED TO CONFER MILITARY/POLITICAL ADVANTAGE OR DISADVANTAGE TO EITHER SIDE.

THE BIAFRAN PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT, HOWEVER, REMAIN GRATEFUL FOR ALL THE EFFORTS MADE BY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND THE US ADMINISTRATION IN THIS REGARD, AND IS WILLING, AS BEFORE, TO ENTER INTO DISCUSSIONS TO FACILITATE INCREASED RELIEF SUPPLIES. UNQUOTE, DECON ON RECEIPT. TUBBY

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
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PAGE 01 GENEVA 02571 231627Z

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ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, IO 13, SSO 00, CCO 00, USIE 00, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04,
H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, UPW 01,
AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, EUR 1, RSR 01, 140 W
065061

O P 231610Z JUL 69 ZFF-1
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2252
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
USUN NEW YORK 3344

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 2571

PARIS FOR AMB FERGUSON

SUBJ: NIGERIAN RELIEF

REF: TELECON TUBB/GUTMAN-FERGUSON

1. SPOKE WITH BERNHARDT/MARKPRESS. HE HAS NOTHING REPROPOSED
GENEVA MEETING BUT OFFERED SEND INQUIRY TO BIAFRA IF AND WHEN
WE REQUEST.

2. IN RESPONSE TO NAVILLE'S REQUEST, MCJUKWU WILL BE IN GENEVA
ON/ABOUT MONDAY.

3. MARKPRESS IS JUST RECEIVING LENGTHY STATEMENT FROM BIAFRA
OVER TELETYPE CONTAINING COMMENTS ON SECRETARY'S STATEMENT.
"NOTHING NEW OR STARTLING" ACCORDING TO BERNHARDT. WE WILL
TRANSMIT TEXT ASAP.

4. MARKPRESS IS PR AGENT FOR UGANDA AND IN CHARGE MEDIA ARRANGE-
MENTS FOR PAPAL VISIT TO KAMPALA. THUS BIAFRA ISSUE COULD
GET SIGNIFICANT PLAY THIS CONTEXT.
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TELEGRAM

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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23 JUL 69 1909Z

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ACTION: US Mission GENEVA
 Amembassy PARIS
 INFO: Amembassy LAGOS

STATE _____

FOR FERGUSON

1. Ferguson letter hand delivered to Otue in New York Monday. In brief discussion, Nwakoby ~~xxxx~~ questioned Lagos strict adherence to safe conduct pledge for vessels, doubted practicality of Cross River route for adequate relief shipments, claimed military activity in area mounting. Otue said letter would be sent immediately to proper authorities.
2. Early response to letter requested, and Biafrans urged to treat proposal in confidential, business-like manner. Biafrans told side rejecting proposal must bear heavy responsibility for failure of important relief initiative.

121577

DRAFTED BY: U/CF - JPope	DRAFTING DATE 7/23/69	TEL. EXT. 4529	APPROVED BY: U/CF - SCSchoff
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RICHARDSON

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, AID 28, UCF 05, UPW 01, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04,
SCA 01, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,
P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, RSR 01, 158 W
065209

R 231600Z JUL 69
FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4244
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION GENEVA

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE THE HAGUE 2805

REF: STATE 120835

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF; LUNS VISIT TO NIGERIA

1. AS INSTRUCTED WE HAVE INFORMED FORMINISTRY OF DEPARTMENT'S CONCURRENCE THAT LUNS DISCUSSIONS IN NIGERIA WOULD BE HELPFUL.
2. LUNS ARRIVES BACK LATE TODAY FROM EEC MINISTERIAL MEETING IN BRUSSELS. HE WILL TAKE OFF ALMOST IMMEDIATELY FOR A SHORT VACATION IN ITALY. WHENCE HE WILL PROCEED DIRECTLY TO YAOUNDE SESSION.
3. JANSSEN ANDEWEG, ACTING IN CHARGE OF MIDEAST AND AFRICA AT MFA, HAS INFORMED US THAT WASHINGTON VIEWS HAVE BEEN RELAYED BY DUTCH EMBASSY THERE. SUBJECT WILL BE BROUGHT TO LUNS' ATTENTION BUT JANSSEN ANDEWEG COULD NOT GUARANTEE THAT A REACTION WOULD BE OBTAINED BEFORE LUNS' DEPARTURE.
4. BELIEVE LIKELY THAT DUTCH AMB IN LAGOS WILL FROM NOW ON BE BEST SOURCE OF INFORMATION ON POSSIBLE LUNS TALKS IN NIGERIA.

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Date	10/5/05

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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TELEGRAM

INDICATE:

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23 JUL 69 23 56Z

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS

Priority

INFO: USMission GENEVA
Amembassy LONDON
Amembassy PARIS
~~XXXX~~ USUN NEW YORK

Priority

Priority

Paris for Ferguson

SUBJ: LSM'S

REF: A. London 5009
B. Lagos 6543
C. State 120372

We appreciate arguments set forth Ref B. However, unless you feel request would adversely affect FMG willingness to participate in Geneva talks or would seriously impair relationships, would urge that effort be made to gain acceptance Nwaniba ~~XXXX~~ as ultimate destination.

RICHARDSON

5

DRAFTED BY: U/CF:RDavidson/AF:GR Moore
DRAFTING DATE: 7/23/69
TEL. EXT.: 8835
APPROVED BY: U/CF:SCSchott
CLEARANCES: State: RMelbourne (draft)
Aid: ~~XXXX~~ HNorth (substance)

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ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01, SSO 00, /071 W

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O P 231745Z JUL 69
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5673
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY ROME
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN

SECRET SECTION 1 OF 2 PARIS 11166

LIMDIS

FOR UNDER SECRETARY

SUBJ: NIGERIA/BIAFRA

1. SUMMARY. AMBASSADOR FERGUSON, BLAKE AND OAKLEY CALLED ON QUAI AFRICA DIRECTOR LABEL 22 JULY. ALSO PRESENT WERE LABEL'S DEPUTY FOR NON-FRENCH AFRICA CARRAUD AND CHRISTIAN GIRARD. GIRARD RESPONSIBLE WITHIN FONOFF FOR COORDINATION FRENCH RELIEF EFFORTS. TALKS WERE CLEARLY PRELIMINARY TO FERGUSON MEETING WITH FONMIN SCHUMANN EVENING JULY 23 AND DEVOTED ALMOST ENTIRELY TO RELIEF MATTERS. THERE WAS NO AGREEMENT BETWEEN U.S. AND FRENCH ON DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS OR CROSS RIVER. HOWEVER, FRENCH INDICATED VERY KEEN INTEREST IN TRYING WORK WITH U.S. TO REACH MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE AGREEMENT ON RELIEF ASPECTS NIGERIA/BIAFRA.

2. FERGUSON OPENED WITH SUMMARY RESTATEMENT OF U.S. NIGERIAN POLICY BASED UPON UNDERSECSTATE JULY 15 STATEMENT. EMPHASIZED FIRST PRIORITY USG POLICY IS REUMPTION FLOW OF RELIEF. FERGUSON INFORMED FRENCH OF USG INITIATIVES TO BREAK RELIEF DEADLOCK AND SUPPORT OF HIM INITIATIVE WITH POPE. LABEL COMMENTED THAT HOUPHOUET HAD NOT REVEALED NIXON LETTER TO EITHER LABEL OR

SECRET

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7-23-69

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By MWA Date 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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FONMIN SHCUMANN. ON PAPAL PEACE INITIATIVE LEBEL STATED INITIAL REACTION IN QUAI WAS INCREDULITY. QUOTE WE COULD NOT BELIEVE OUR EYES UNQUOTE. BUT HE SAID THAT ON REFLECTION, THEY BELIEVE IT MIGHT HAVE REMOTE CHANCE OF SUCCEEDING. LEBEL COMMENTED QUAI HAD NOT COMPLETELY GIVEN UP ON THEIR SCHEME OF GETTING TWO "FRIENDS" (HEADS OF STATE) OF EACH SIDE TO ACT AS GO-BETWEENS AND CHANNELS. DIFFICULTY WAS THAT THEY COULD NOT IDENTIFY ANGLO-PHONE AFRICAN CHIEF OF STATE THAT GOWON COMPLETELY TRUSTED, AS OJUKWU TRUSTS HOUPHOUET.

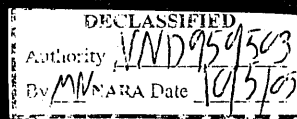
3. FERGUSON THEN SUGGESTED IMMEDIATE PROBLEM IS RESUMPTION OF AIRLIFT IN FACE OF FACT THAT FMG STANCE RE RELIEF HAD BECOME MUCH TOUGHER. FRENCH COULD HELP BY MORAL SUPPORT ICRC WHICH WOULD STRENGTHEN ITS HAND WITH BOTH LAGOS AND BIAFRA AND ALSO HELP MODERATES WITHIN FMG WHO ARE NOT HOSTILE TO RELIEF. FERGUSON COMMENTING THAT WE MUST EDUCATE BOTH SIDES THAT WORLD PUBLIC OPINION CONSIDERS ICRC ALMOST SACROSANCT IN RELIEF MATTERS. LEBEL COUNTERED WITH ASSERTION THAT PROBLEM IS PRIMARILY LACK OF WILL AND SENSITIVITY TO AFRICAN OUTLOOK ON PART OF ICRC (SINCE FRENCH RED CROSS CONTINUING TO FLY) RATHER THAN DELIBERATE DECISION BY FMG TO GET TOUGH WITH ICRC OR INCREASED CAPABILITY OF FMG TO INTERCEPT NIGHT FLIGHTS. LEBEL THEN ASSERTED QUOTE FROM HERE WE WOULD HAVE NO PROBLEM WITH A COMMON USG FRENCH RELIEF POLICY UNQUOTE. LEBEL THEN SUGGESTED THAT USG AND FRANCE MAKE JOINT DEMARCHE TO ICRC TO GET THEM TO BECOME MORE FLEXIBLE ("VIOLATE SLIGHTLY") WITH THEIR REQUIREMENT OF HAVING AGREEMENT BOTH SIDES. THUS THEY COULD RESUME RELIEF FLIGHTS, LIKE JCA, WITHOUT EXPRESS PERMISSION OF FMG.

4. FERGUSON REPLIED THAT AT LAST MEETING OF FULL ICRC COMMITTEE THIS QUESTION HAD BEEN DEBATED OVER THREE DAYS AND FIRM DECISION HAD BEEN TAKEN THAT ICRC MUST NOT BREAK PAST PRACTICE AND COULD ONLY FLY WITH CONSENT BOTH SIDES. THE FIRMNESS OF THIS POSITION BY ICRC WAS ATTESTED TO BY GIRARD. LEBEL THEN SUGGESTED THAT ICRC MIGHT TRANSFER PLANES AND PILOTS TO OTHER ORGANIZATIONS SO AS TO INCREASE FLOW OF RELIEF SUPPLIES BUT NOT VIOLATE ITS OWN REGULATIONS. FERGUSON AND GIRARD BOTH SAID THAT ICRC WOULD NEVER DO THIS AS IT WOULD BE ADMISSION OF FAILURE TO WORLD.

5. ON QUESTION OF HOW TO BREAK DEADLOCK ON RELIEF FLIGHTS, LEBEL AND CARRAUD SAID THAT HOUPHOUET BOIGNY HAS REPORTED

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OJUKWU'S WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT INSPECTION BY TEAM OF FMG, BIAFRAN AND "NEUTRAL" INSPECTORS AT AIRPORTS OUTSIDE FMG TERRITORY, WITH PLANES THEN FLYING DIRECTLY TO AND FROM BIAFRA WITHOUT STOPPING AT FMG AIRPORT. IF U.S. COMES FORWARD WITH REASONABLE PROPOSAL FOR RELIEF FLIGHTS, SAID LEBEL, FRANCE WOULD BE WILLING SUPPORT IT WITH HOUPHOUET WHOM FRENCH CONSIDER TO BE KEY ELEMENT IN EQUATION. LEBEL THEN SUGGESTED U.S. AND FRENCH WORK TOGETHER TO GET FMG AND BIAFRA TO AGREE TO ACCEPT FULL FMG CONTROL AT OUTSIDE AIRPORTS BUT NO TOUCHDOWN ON FMG TERRITORY. SINCE MILITARY BALANCE BETWEEN TWO SIDES HAS NOT CHANGED, LEBEL SAW NO REASON CHANGE PREVIOUS PATTERN OF RELIEF FLIGHTS FROM OUTSIDE NIGERIA DIRECTLY TO AND FROM BIAFRA.

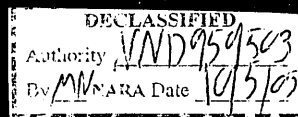
6. LEBEL OFFERED TWO SPECIFIC OBJECTIONS TO RELIEF FLIGHTS TOUCHING DOWN ON FMG TERRITORY: (1) BIAFRAN FEAR OF POISON WHICH IS REAL; AND (2) DELAYS WHICH FMG COULD (AND ALMOST CERTAINLY WOULD IN FRENCH OPINION) IMPOSE ON RELIEF FLIGHTS WHICH WOULD REDUCE FLOW TO TRICKLE. AFTER QUESTIONING BY EMBOFFS, LEBEL ADMITTED THAT THERE WERE POLITICAL FACTORS ON BOTH SIDES WHICH WERE MORE IMPORTANT THAN OTHER CONSIDERATIONS WHEN IT COMES TO WHETHER PLANES TOUCH DOWN SYMBOLICALLY OR NOT ON FMG TERRITORY.

7. FERGUSON SAID THAT HE DOES NOT BELIEVE FMG WILL EVER AGREE TO FLIGHTS WITHOUT AT LEAST SYMBOLIC TOUCHDOWN ON FMG TERRITORY. HE ADDED THAT IT WILL BE INTERESTING TO SEE WHAT HAPPENS TO ICRC SERVICE FLIGHTS AGREED TO BY FMG WHICH SAID THEY COULD FLY IN DIRECT TO BIAFRA BUT WOULD HAVE TO STOP ON FMG TERRITORY ON WAY OUT. HE NOTED BIAFRA HAS NOT YET ACCEPTED THIS. LEBEL SAID THAT FERGUSON SHOULD RAISE WITH FONMIN SCHUMANN QUESTION WHETHER US AND FRANCE COULD FIND A JOINT POSITION RE DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS.

8. FERGUSON TURNED TO CROSS RIVER RECAPITULATING HISTORY OF NEGOTIATIONS. HE INDICATED THAT FRENCH MIGHT BE EXTREMELY HELPFUL WITH OJUKWU ON TWO MATTERS: (1) GETTING BIAFRANS TO GENEVA ON JULY 28 AND (2) GETTING PRECISE DEFINITION OF "THIRD PARTY GUARANTEES". WE HAVE HAD NO REPLY TO FERGUSON'S LETTER INVITING BIAFRA TO ATTEND MEETING AND HAVE BEEN UNABLE GET CLEAR IDEA OF WHAT OJUKWU MEANS BY GUARANTEES.
SHRIVER

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ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01, SS0 00, /071

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FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
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LIMDIS

9. LEBEL RESPONDED ALONG TWO LINES: BIAFRANS HAVE VERY TENUOUS GRIP ON CROSS RIVER IN EASTERN AREA--ONE MILE OF RIVER--WHICH MAY BE LOST AT ANY TIME. THUS TOO MUCH POLITICAL INVESTMENT IN CROSS RIVER PLAN MIGHT DETRACT AND DIVERT ATTENTION FROM OTHER RELIEF ROUTS WHICH ARE MORE SECURE IN FAVOR ROUTE WHICH MIGHT BE LOST; SECONDLY, FRENCH CANNOT DO AS MUCH AS WE EXPECT WITH BIAFRANS. FRENCH HAVE ONLY TWO CHANNELS--HOUPHOUET AND "CERTAIN PARLIAMENTARINS"--THEY AVOID DIRECT OFFICIAL CONTACT WITH OJUKWU. THUS FRENCH HAVE FOUND IN PAST THAT THEY CAN NEVER BE SURE THAT QUESTIONS THEY WANT ANSWERED ARE ACTUALLY PUT TO THE BIAFRANS IN WAY THEY WERE ORIGINALLY FORMULATED. SINCE NO DIRECT LINK THEY ALWAYS HAVE FOUND "SLIPPAGE" IN ANSWERS.

10. FERGUSON REPLIED THAT THE ONE MILE OF RIVER CONTROLLED BY BIAFRA NOT CRITICAL, ALL LSM'S NEED IS STRETCH OF RIVER BANK NEAR ROAD FOR FEW HOURS. IN FACT, BIGGEST CONCERN OF FMG IS THAT BIAFRAN PATROLS ACTUALLY IN AREA BELOW ITU MIGHT FIRE AT LSM'S FROM WHAT FMG CLAIMS IS TERRITORY UNDER THEIR CONTROL. ON DISTRACTION ARGUMENT FERGUSON STATED THAT PROBLEM HAS BEEN ANTICIPATED: CROSS RIVER ALWAYS DESCRIBED AS SUPPLEMENTARY TO AN AIRLIFT AND AGREEMENT WORKED OUT BETWEEN USG AND ICRC ON

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SHARING DIPLOMATIC BURDEN--(COPENHAGEN LINDT/FERGUSON AGREEMENT).
LEBEL THEN SWITCHED TO ARGUMENT THAT "FRIENDS OF BIAFRA"
(KAUNDA, HOUPHOUET) NEVER MENTION RIVER BUT TALK ONLY ABOUT
DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS. FERGUSON REPLIED BY REASSERTING USG DESIRE
FOR FRENCH HELP WITH OJUKWU ON ALL RELIEF QUESTIONS.

11. ON FRENCH RED CROSS AIRLIFT GIRARD INDICATED FLIGHTS UP
FROM THREE TO FIVE PER WEEK. DECISION TO INCREASE TAKEN IN
FIELD, PRIMARILY FOR SYMBOLIC REASONS, AND NO PROSPECT FURTHER
EXPANSION.

12. AT DINNER, LEBEL TOLD EMBOFF THAT FRENCH POSITION ON
POLITICAL SIDE OF NIGERIA/BIAFRA CONFLICT VERY CLOSE TO THAT OF
US AS REVEALED IN STATEMENT BY UNDER SECRETARY RICHARDSON.
SLIGHT DIFFERENCE IS THAT US SEES SINGLE NIGERIA AS PRE-
REQUISITE FOR SETTLEMENT WHILE FRANCE DOES NOT PRECLUDE AGREEMENT
BETWEEN TWO SIDES ON SINGLE NIGERIA. THIS COULD EMERGE FROM
TALKS BETWEEN TWO SIDES. EMBOFF REPLIED THAT SINGLE NIGERIA IS
NOT FOR US A PREREQUISITE TO NEGOTIATIONS AS HOUPHOUET BOIGNY AND
OTHERS SEEM TO BELIEVE, BUT WE CANNOT CONCEIVE OF LASTING PEACE-
FUL SETTLEMENT WHICH IS NOT BASED ON AGREEMENT BY BIAFRA TO
ACCEPT SOME FORMULA BASED ON CONCEPT OF SINGLE NIGERIA. ANY
OTHER SOLUTION WOULD BE TEMPORARY AT BEST AND WOULD BE INVITATION
FOR FIGHTING TO RESUME EVEN IF IT WERE TO HAVE CEASED TEMPORARILY.
EMBOFF ASKED IF LEBEL COULD CONCEIVE OF LASTING SETTLEMENT ON
OTHER TERMS THAN ACCEPTANCE OF CONCEPT SINGLE NIGERIA. LEBEL
CONFERRED THAT FRENCH DO NOT SEE ANY OTHER MEANS OF ACHIEVING
LASTING SETTLEMENT. (COMMENT: FOR FIRST TIME TO OUR KNOWLEDGE
SINCE FRENCH AFFIRMED THEIR SUPPORT FOR PRINCIPLE OF SELF-
DETERMINATION, LEBEL ADMITTED THAT AGREEMENT BETWEEN TWO
SIDES OF SINGLE NIGERIA IS ONLY REASONABLE BASIS FOR LASTING
SETTLEMENT). HE SAID IT, OF COURSE, PRIVATELY.)

13. COMMENT: CONVERSATIONS CARRIED OUT IN FRIENDLY WARM
ATMOSPHERE BUT CLEAR THAT WORKING SESSION VERY ADEPT, SOPHISTIC-
ATED PRELIMINARY FENCING MATCH BETWEEN LEBEL AND FERGUSON.
MAIN EVENT WILL BE MEETING WITH SCHUMANN WHOM WE EXPECT TO COME
TO GRIPS WITH REAL ISSUES. SEVERAL PROBES PUT OUT BY LEBEL IN
CONTEXT COMMON USG/FRENCH RELIEF POLICY SUPRA BUT ALL AMOUNTED
TO GETTING FMG TO CHANGE POSITION TO ACCOMMODATE RIGID BIAFRAN
POSITION. THIS ESPECIALLY SO ON DAYLIGHT FLIGHT DISCUSSION. FRENCH
APPEAR TO HAVE COOLED CONSIDERABLY ON CROSS RIVER. ALTHOUGH THEY

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DID NOT ADMIT IT, FRENCH REACTION IS PROBABLY RESULT OF CONTACT WITH HOUPHOUET AND BIAFRANS (POSSIBLY KENNETH DIKE). SIGNIFICANCE OF LEBEL COMMENT ON SINGLE NIGERIA WILL DEPEND UPON WHETHER OR NOT SCHUMANN ALSO PICKS IT UP.

GP-3. SHRIVER.

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Functional

Principals and
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THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

Attention Mrs. Dulles
Keep this study together 48

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July 23, 1969

This document released to
public per g Bush AF

Dear Mr. Jacobs:

5-C-121 9/11/75

Thank you for your recent Nigeria/Biafra relief proposal addressed to the Secretary and me. I am sure this idea was developed in consonance with our own concern that we bring to bear our most imaginative resources to help resolve the relief impasse.

Ambassador Ferguson is currently studying your proposal and his office will continue its close coordination with you. I am sure you will agree that the first step is to confirm the logistic feasibility of incorporating the CH-53 in a relief transport system. Assurance of this feasibility is necessary before attempting to divert helicopters from what are likely to be higher priority requirements.

I know you are continuing to explore the workability of this idea, and I look forward to seeing your findings.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Elliot L. Richardson
Elliot L. Richardson

Mr. Dan B. Jacobs
Executive Director
The Committee for Nigeria-Biafra Relief, Inc.
790 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

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Pol 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria
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L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, AID 28,

SCS 04, SCA 01, SR 01, ORM 03, UPW 01, RSR 01, /152 W
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P 231005Z JUL 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7911
INFO USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 6588

PARIS FOR FERGUSON

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF: CROSS RIVER ROUTE

REF: PARIS 11045

1. DURING FAREWELL CALL ON ARIKPO THIS MORNING, I URGED HIM TO ENSURE FAVORABLE FMG RESPONSE TO FERGUSON REQUEST TO ATTEND MEETING IN GENEVA JULY 28. ARIKPO SAID HE WOULD RAISE ISSUE WITH GOWON AND ADMIRAL WEY DIRECT RATHER THAN THROUGH EXECUTIVE COUNCIL WHERE TOO MANY PEOPLE WOULD ADVANCE QTE WILD IDEAS UNQTE. HE SAID AMBASSADOR TO SWITZERLAND SULE KOLO WOULD PROBABLY BE DESIGNATED FMG REPRESENTATIVE. I SAID KOLO SHOULD BE SUPPORTED BY NAVY, ARMY OR INLAND WATERWAYS DEPARTMENT EXPERT FROM LAGOS. ARIKPO AGREED AND SAID WOULD PRESS WEY TO FIND SUITABLE MAN.

2. I ALSO TOLD ARIKPO THAT HE AND OTHER RESPONSIBLE SOUTH-EASTERN LEADERS HAD OBLIGATION TO INFORM AND GUIDE THEIR FELLOW CITIZENS IN SOUTH-EAST STATE ON CROSS RIVER ROUTE. ARIKPO ACCEPTED THIS COMMENT AND SAID HE HAD BEEN IN COMMUNICATION WITH MILITARY GOVERNOR ESUENE ON SUBJECT.

G-3 MATHEWS

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By MVA/ARA Date 10/5/05

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 Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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 ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, E 15,
 DOT 12, UCF 05, UPW 01, RSR 01, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07,
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R 231630Z JUL 69
 FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7919
 INFO USMISSION GENEVA
 AMEMBASSY LONDON
 AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
 USUN 1063

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 6613

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF - UK DISCUSSIONS WITH NAVILLE
 ON OBTAINING OJUKWU'S AGREEMENT TO DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS.

1. UKHC HAS PASSED US REPORTING ON UK CONSUL GENERAL GENEVA'S JULY 17 DISCUSSION WITH NAVILLE ON REACHING AGREEMENT WITH OJUKWU FOR DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS.
2. BRITISH TOLD NAVILLE THAT THEY BELIEVED BEST PERSON TO EXPLAIN ICRC POSITION WAS NAVILLE HIMSELF WHO HAD BEEN PRESENT LAGOS FMG-ICRC MEETINGS AND COULD SPEAK WITH AUTHORITY FOR ICRC. IF JCA COULD BE ASSOCIATED WITH ICRC APPROACH, THEIR PARTICIPATION WOULD INCREASE PROSPECTS OF OJUKWU'S AGREEMENT. WHOEVER WENT SHOULD PRESS OJUKWU TO ACCEPT DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS AS AGREED IN LAGOS AND NOT SIMPLY PRESENT IT ON A TAKE-IT-OR-LEAVE-IT BASIS. IF OJUKWU COULD NOT AGREE, HIS CLEAR AND UNAMBIGUOUS PROPOSALS SHOULD BE OBTAINED. BRITISH BELIEVED MISSION SHOULD BE UNDERTAKEN THE SOONER THE BETTER.
3. NAVILLE RESPONDED CAUTIOUSLY AND SAID HE DID NOT FEEL THAT AN ICRC MISSION TO OJUKWU IS LIKELY TO BE PRODUCTIVE AT THIS STAGE. HE THOUGHT BOTH SIDES FACED POLITICAL PROBLEMS, AND ACCEPTANCE BY ONE SIDE OF CONDITIONS

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LAI'D DOWN BY THE OTHER WOULD BE REGARDED BY THE OTHER SIDE AS A POLITICAL VICTORY. FROM LAGOS TALKS AND ELSEWHERE, NAVILLE GOT STRONG IMPRESSION THAT INFLUENCE OF WHITE GOVERNMENTS AND INDIVIDUALS WAS WANING AND THAT FURTHER PRESSURES COULD BE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE. HE THOUGHT IT WAS NOW RESPONSIBILITY OF AFRICAN LEADERS, PARTICULARLY THOSE CLOSE TO OJUKWU, "TO EXPLAIN THE FACTS OF LIFE TO HIM" AND "PREPARE HIS MIND" TO ACCEPT DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS AS ENVISIONED. ONCE THIS DONE, NAVILLE WOULD THEN BE PREPARED FLY TO BIAFRA TO SEAL AGREEMENT. NAVILLE DID NOT WISH, HOWEVER, NEGOTIATE AGREEMENT OR BE IN POSITION ARGUING OUT POLITICAL POINTS BETWEEN BOTH SIDES. HE BELIEVED FMG PRETTY MUCH LOCKED INTO POSITION ON FLIGHTS BY PUBLIC OPINION AND OWN STATEMENTS, AND THEREFORE WISHED AVOID RIGID COUNTER-PROPOSALS FROM OJUKWU.

4. NAVILLE HOPED TO DISCUSS PROBLEM IN NEXT FEW DAYS WITH HOUPHOUET WHO VISITING SWITZERLAND. ALSO SAID HE WILLING GO ANYWHERE TO SEE AFRICAN LEADERS AND OAU OFFICIALS. ON JCA, NAVILLE NOTED THERE NO COMMON FRONT WITHIN JCA ITSELF.

5. NAVILLE RECOGNIZED IMPORTANCE OF TIME FACTOR IN SECURING FLIGHT AGREEMENT. ACCUMULATED RELIEF STOCKS WERE BEING USED UP AND THAT DAY WOULD BE FOLLOWED BY STEEP DECLINE INTO FAMINE AND INCREASED MORTALITY. HOWEVER THAT DAY WOULD NOT COME "THIS WEEK OR NEXT WEEK" AND THERE WAS SOME TIME LEFT FOR MANOEUVRE. HE HOPED OBTAIN VATICAN HELP IN PERSUADING OJUKWU ACCEPT EMERGENCY NIGHT FLIGHT, WHICH IF SUCCESSFUL COULD LEAD TO AGREEMENT ON DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS. GP-4 MATHEWS

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XR SOC 3 Red Cross
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SR 01, ORM 03, DOT 12, ACDA 16, TRSY 11, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02,
INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12,
RSR 01, 208 W

R 221630Z JUL 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7907
INFO AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

UNCLAS LAGOS 6578

SUBJECT: BIAFRAN OFFICIAL ATTACKS ICRC

1. EMBASSY HAS RECEIVED REPORT (FBIS ITEM C191722) OF
PARIS AFP STORY ON STATEMENT MADE BY BIAFRAN COMMISSIONER
FOR HOME AFFAIRS. TEXT FOLLOWS.

2. BEGIN TEXT. "BIAFRAS COMMISSIONER FOR HOME AFFAIRS,
MR. C.C. MOJEKWU HAS CHALLENGED THE INTERNATIONAL RED
CROSS TO HAND OVER TRANSPORTATION AND MANAGEMENT OF RELIEF
SUPPLIES TO THE JOINT CHURCH AID.
"IN A STATEMENT ISSUED HERE TODAY MR. MOJEKWU ALLEGED THAT
THE ICRC WOULD AGAIN FAIL TO DISCHARGE ITS PRIMARY
RESPONSIBILITY TO THE VICTIMS OF SUFFERING AND STARVATION
IN BIAFRA. INSTEAD IT HAS PLACED THE INTERESTS OF BRITAIN
AND NIGERIA FOREMOST, KNOWING FULLY WELL THEIR POLICIES
OF SIEGE WARFARE AND STARVATION OF INNOCENT BIAFRANS.
"MR. MOJEKWU ADDED: BY SEEKING THE INTERESTS OF BRITAIN AND
NIGERIA WHILE FOOD FOR BIAFRA ROTS AND PLANES REMAIN GROUNDED,
THE ICRC WILL SOON BECOME A PARTNER IN GENOCIDE BY STARVATION.

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ZTHE OFFICIAL CHALLENGED THE RED CROSS TO SURRENDER ALL
RELIEF PLANES IT HOLDS, FOOD AND MONEY DONATED FOR BIAFRA TO
JOINT CHURCH AID, WHICH MR. MOJEKWU SAID WAS EXPERIENCED
IN TRANSPORTING RELIEF MATERIALS TO THE BREAKAWAY STATE."
MATHEWS

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Re 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria
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SCA 01, RSR 01, CIAE 00, DODE 00, NSAE 00, NSCE 00, SSO 00, USIE 00,

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AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 6553

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF - TECHNICAL MEETING ON EMERGENCY
ICRC FLIGHTS

REF: LAGOS 4461

PARIS FOR FERGUSON

1. EGLI AND ICRC TECHNICAL EXPERTS MET WITH OMO-BARE AND
FMG MILITARY REPRESENTATIVES JULY 21 ON TECHNICAL DETAILS
EMERGENCY NIGHT FLIGHTS. ACCORDING HOCKE, MEETING ENDED
IN FULL AGREEMENT BETWEEN ICRC AND FMG ON MODALITIES FGI
FLIGHT OPERATION. ICRC TO SUBMIT DETAILS "FEW MINOR
POINTS" BY LETTER.

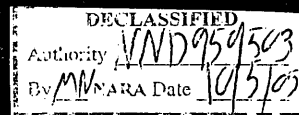
2. HOCKE SAID NEXT STEP IS TO OBTAIN AGREEMENT FROM OTHER
SIDE. HE PRESUMED ICRC HAD COMMENCED EMERGENCY FLIGHT
NEGOTIATIONS WITH REBELS, BUT HAS HAD NO DIRECT REPORT.
CAN GENEVA PROVIDE INFO.

GP-4. MATHEWS.

CONFIDENTIAL

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0032





POK 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
XRP 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State
TELEGRAM

SECRET 939

PAGE 01 PARIS 11048 221436Z

46

ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, DODE 00, CIAE 00, USIE 00, /071 W
055361

P R 221315Z JUL 69
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5617
INFO USMISSION USUN
AMEMBASSY DAKAR
AMEMBASSY TUNIS

SECRET PARIS 11048

LIMDIS NOFORN

SUBJ: NIGERIA/BIAFRA

REF: PARIS 11012 (NOTAL)

1. IN CONVERSATION WITH AMBASSADOR FERGUSON AND EMBOFF EVENING JULY 21, TUNISIAN AMBASSADOR MASMOUDI AND SENEGALESE AMBASSADOR GUILLABERT EXPRESSED APPROVAL OF UNDER SECRETARY'S JULY 15 SPEECH (EMBASSY HAD SENT THEM COPIES IN FRENCH) AND PLEASURE THAT US HAS DECIDED ENTER ACTIVELY INTO SEARCH FOR PEACE IN NIGERIA. THEY BOTH STATED INTENTION DO WHATEVER THEY COULD TO FURTHER THIS EFFORT AND THOUGHT THAT MOST AFRICAN LEADERS BADLY WANT SEE CONFLICT ENDED BUT DO NOT KNOW HOW TO GO ABOUT IT. THEY BOTH AGREE THAT ONLY REALISTIC SOLUTION IS WITHIN CONTEXT OF SINGLE NIGERIA.

2. MASMOUDI HAD TWO HOUR TALK WITH IVORY COAST PRESIDENT HOUPHOUET BOIGNY JULY 20. HE TOLD FERGUSON, GUILLABERT AND EMBOFF THAT HE HAD ARGUED STRONGLY WITH HOUPHET ON NECESSITY OJUKWU ACCEPTING PRINCIPLE OF SINGLE NIGERIA IN RETURN FOR CONCESSIONS BY FMG ON CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS AND GUARANTEES FOR IBOS. HE TOLD HOUPHOUET THAT IF CONFLICT CONTINUES HE MAY END UP BEING BADLY HURT SINCE BIAGRA HAS NO HOPE OF WINNING. THEREFORE HE SHOULD MAKE EFFORT NOW TO FIND COMPROMISE AND EMERGE AS PEACEMAKER. TUNISIAN PRESIDENT BOURGUIBA IS MAN OF REASON AND COMPROMISE LIKE HOUPHOUET AND WOULD BE WILLING SECOND HOUPHOUET IN SEARCH FOR PEACE. MASMOUDI SAID HE ARGUED AGAINST

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PAGE 02 PARIS 11048 221436Z

TAKING BIAFRA TO UNGA SINCE THIS WOULD ONLY PRODUCE STERILE DEBATE AND SPLIT AFRICANS. ACCORDING TO MASMOUDI, HOUPHOUET SAID HE WILL SEND FONMIN USHER TO TUNIS TO DISCUSS BIAFRA WITH BOURGUIBA. HOUPHOUET ALSO ACKNOWLEDGED THAT BIAFRA HAS NO HOPE OF WINNING AND SAID THAT HE HAS BEEN URGING OJUKWU TO BE "MORE FLEXIBLE." MASMOUDI CAME AWAY FROM TALK WITH OPINION THAT HOUPHOUET IS "SHAKEN" BUT THAT HE HAS NOT YET DECIDED TO CHANGE PAST POLICY OF STRONG SUPPORT FOR OJUKWU AND UNCERTAIN OF WHAT COURSE HE SHOULD TAKE. HE TOLD MASMOUDI HE WANTS TO TALK TO POPE AND TO "AMERICANS" AND TO FRENCH AGAIN. HE SPENT CONSIDERABLE TIME TELLING MASMOUDI THAT US SHOULD GET RELIEF SUPPLIES FLOWING INTO BIAFRA AGAIN, "EVEN IF FMG DOES JOB IT-SELF." BUT MASMOUDI SAID HOUPHOUET WAS NOT PRECISE AS TO JUST HOW HE ENVISAGED RESUMPTION OF MAJOR RELIEF EFFORT.

3. GUILLABERT SAID HE HAS TALKED TO HOUPHOUET BY PHONE AND HAS DATE TO SEE HIM MORNING JULY 23 AFTER HE HAS RETURNED FROM VISIT TO POPE. HE INTENDS TAKE LINE SIMILAR TO THAT OF MASMOUDI, STRESSING NECESSITY FOR COMPROMISE BY OJUKWU IF THERE IS TO BE PEACE. GUILLABERT FULLY AWARE OF CONVERSATIONS WE HAD WITH HOUPHOUET HERE LAST APRIL AND FACT THAT HOUPHOUET DID NOT FOLLOW UP ON PROPOSALS MADE AT THAT TIME. GUILLABERT SAID THAT HOUPHOUET'S POSITION STIFFENED CONSIDERABLY WITH RECAPTURE OF OWERRI BY BIAFRANS.

4. BOTH MEN SAID THAT HOUPHOUET CAPABLE OF BEING INCREDIBLY STUBBORN BUT THEY NOT WITHOUT HOPE HE CAN BE BROUGHT AROUND. THEY BELIEVE THAT IF HOUPHOUET DOES DECIDE WORK FOR COMPROMISE SOLUTION, FRENCH WILL BE "DELIGHTED". IF HOUPHOUET REMAINS ADAMANT, THEY BELIEVE POMPIDOU WILL CONTINUE SUPPORT FOR BIAFRA.

5. COMMENT: GUILLABERT AND MASMOUDI ARE MOST INFLUENTIAL FRANCO-PHONE AFRICAN AMBASSADORS IN PARIS AND BOTH CARRY WEIGHT WITHIN THEIR GOVERNMENTS. THEY HAVE KNOWN HOUPHOUET WILL FOR YEARS. IT IS NICE TO HAVE THEM AS ALLIES AND THEY HAVE PROMISED KEEP US INFORMED ON FRENCH AND IVORY COAST REACTIONS. FOR PRESENT WE BELIEVE IT BEST NOT TO TRY AND BACK THEM UP IN DAKAR OR TUNIS ALTHOUGH TIME MIGHT COME WHEN THIS SEEMS INDICATED.

GP-2.

SHRIVER

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0034

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I N C O M I N G

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Principals and
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Geographic

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NEA 8

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DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: USMission GENEVA

INFO: AMembassy PARIS
AMembassy LAGOS

STATE

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PARIS FOR FERGUSON

REF: Geneva's 2531

1. White House and Dept. have no objection release and publication Presidential letter to Naville. We suggest, however, that release be made while Ferguson in Geneva and, if possible, in context joint press conference of Naville and Ferguson.

ROGERS

End.

DRAFTED BY: U/CF:SCSchott:sm	DRAFTING DATE 7/22/69	TEL. EXT. 6215	APPROVED BY: U/CF - Stephen C. Schott
CLEARANCES: WH - Mr. Morris <i>SCS</i> AF - Amb. Moore <i>VM</i> AFW - Mr. Melbourne <i>sub</i> S/S - Mr. Brown <i>END</i>			
U - Mr. Ruser <i>END</i>			

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FORM DS-322
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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

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120835
42 JUL 69 20 06Z
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Origin
Info:

ACTION: Amembassy THE HAGUE PRIORITY
" LAGOS PRIORITY
INFO : Amembassy PARIS
USMission GENEVA

Subj: Nigerian Relief: LUNS Visit to Nigeria

Ref: Lagos 6547

1. Dept agrees with opinion expressed reftel that LUNS discussion with FMG about daylight flights and Cross River route would be very helpful.
2. Hague should pass suggestion to Foreign Ministry and inform Lagos and Dept. of reaction.

120835

ROGERS

Drafted by: AF/W:RWFaville:ba 7/22/69
Tel. Ext. 7573
Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: AF/W - Roy M. Melbourne

Clearances: U/CF-Mr. Schott
EUR/FBX- HAHolmes
AF-Amb. Moore

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-
Department of State NIGERIA
TELEGRAM

SECRET 315

PAGE 01 GENEVA 02562 221946Z

83:
ACTION: SS 70

INFO OCT 01: CIAE 00, /071 W

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P R 221800Z JUL 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2243
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME

S E C R E T GENEVA 2562

LIMDIS:

PARIS: FOR AMB FERGUSON:

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF

REF: 1) STATE 120425/1; 2) TELECON: AMB. FERGUSON-GUTMAN 7-22-69

1. GUTMAN SAW NAVILLE THIS P.M. AND BRIEFED HIM RE FERGUSON LETTERS TO BOTH PARTIES PROPOSING GENEVA MEETING AS PER REF 1. NAVILLE FULLY CONCURS WITH THIS NEW INITIATIVE AND AGREES THAT THIS MOVE IN CONJUNCTION WITH PRESIDENT'S LETTERS OF LAST WEEK COMPLEMENTS ICRC'S NEGOTIATIONS IN MOST USEFUL MANNER.

2. CONTRARY EXPECTATIONS: NAVILLE DID NOT REPEAT NOT SEE POPE ON JULY 18. HOWEVER, HE DID MEET WITH SECSTATE CARDINAL VILLOT, CARDINAL BELLINI (PHONETIC) AND MSG. BAIER. VILLOT/BELLINI AGREED ARRANGE FOR DELIVERY OF NAVILLE'S LETTER (RE ICRC EMERGENCY ONE TIME FLIGHTS FROM COTONOU TO ULI WITH RETURN TRIP LANDING AT LAGOS) TO OJUKWU. LETTER WILL ARRIVE IN BIAFRA TODAY. NAVILLE REQUESTED POPE'S SUPPORT IN THIS MATTER. BELLINI STATED THAT SUBJECT TO POPE'S AUTHORIZATION A PERSONAL MESSAGE WOULD GO OUT TO OJUKWU SAME COURIER. HE FELT CERTAIN POPE WOULD LEND ALL POSSIBLE ASSISTANCE AS ICRC MERCY FLIGHTS PARALLELED POPE'S OWN THINKING.

3. BELLINI CCONFIDENTIALLY TOLD NAVILLE THAT VATICAN UNDER GREAT PRESSURE FROM CATHOLIC HIERACHY IN FMG TERRITORY AND OTHER

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48

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 02562 221946Z

AFRICAN COUNTRIES TO CEASE ILLEGAL NIGHT FLIGHTS. VATICAN GREATLY DISLIKES NIGHT FLIGHTS BUT HAD TO CARRY ON YET FOR BRIEF PERIOD AS IT COULD NOT REPEAT NOT SUDDENLY ABANDON SOME 200 MISSIONARIES IN BIAFRAN ENCLAVE. HOWEVER, VATICAN KEENLY AWARE THAT CONTINUATION FLIGHTS OVER LONGER PERIOD OUT OF QUESTION AS POPE COULD NOT POSSIBLY VISIT UGANDA WHILE CARITAS IN POSITION OF BLOCKADE RUNNER REGARDLESS OF PURITY ITS MOTIVES. IF NECESSARY, CARITAS IS PREPARED ABANDON JCA. HOWEVER, VATICAN (AND ALSO NAVILLE) BELIEVES WCC ALSO READY STOP NIGHT FLIGHTS SOONEST. NORCHURCH, ON OTHER HAND, SHOWED GREATER INCLINATION CONTINUE NIGHT FLIGHTS REGARDLESS OTHER SOLUTIONS.

4. BIGNAMI RETURNED TODAY TO LAGOS TO OVERSEE ICRC NEGOTIATIONS. NAVILLE INSTRUCTED HIM TO PROPOSE DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS THAT WOULD ORIGINATE IN LAGOS, CONTINUE THENCE TO COTONOU/STISABEL WITH FMG OBSERVERS ABOARD, AND THENCE TO BIAFRA. WHILE SCHEME "PLAIN LUNACY" FROM FINANCIAL VIEWPOINT NAVILLE THINKS IT MIGHT MEET MAJOR OBJECTIONS OF BOTH PARTIES AND SERVE AS TEMPORARY EXPEDIENT GET RELIEF FLIGHTS UNDERWAY AGAIN.

5. HOUPHET-BOIGNY IS EXPECTED IN GENEVA WITHIN NEXT FEW DAYS AND NAVILLE EXPECTS MEET WITH HIM.

COMMENT: NAVILLE SEEMED MORE OPTIMISTIC THAN LAST WEEK. HE FEELS THAT MULTITUDE OF EFFORTS GIVES REASONABLE CHANCE FOR EARLY BREAK IN PRESENT IMPASSE. HE WAS MOST APPRECIATIVE BEING KEPT INFORMED OF CONTEMPLATED USG MOVES.
TUBBY

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By	MMNARA Date 10/5/03

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POL 27-9 BIAPRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 02552 221135Z

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ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01, 071 W

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FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2230

S E C R E T GENEVA 2552

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REFERENCE GENEVA 2544

WE ARE STILL AWAITING CONFIRMATION REGARDING AVAILABILITY
VILLA AND EXPECT HAVE IT TOMORROW, JUL 23. TUBBY

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

RS/R FILES

Attention Mrs Mullett
Keep this study together.

11335

July 22, 1969

Dear Mr. Secretary General:

The starvation of innocent civilians in the Nigerian civil war has seared the conscience of the international community. I know you personally share my anguish over this tragedy.

I know too that we are both deeply concerned that the suffering in the Biafran enclave may be verging on further catastrophe as a result of the current relief impasse. Ambassador Yost has already discussed this problem with you. I wanted you to know, however, of my direct personal interest in restoring the flow of relief. The United States Government stands ready to support any efforts you and the United Nations can make to this end.

I have just completed intensive discussions on the civil war and relief matters with Emperor Haile Selassie, and I assured the Emperor that the United States will continue to give its fullest support and encouragement to any efforts of the Organization of African Unity both in restoring relief and in promoting a peaceful settlement. I am also addressing appeals to the relief agencies and the two parties to reach a prompt and practical agreement on the resumption of the relief airlift.

I fully recognize that this is a complicated problem which requires wisdom as well as zeal. With still greater tragedy looming before us, the United States is determined to explore every avenue in the common interest of saving lives. It is in that spirit that I would hope that the United Nations, through you or in some other way, could make a contribution. In a very real sense, the children who suffer

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By: MMNARA Date: 10/5/03

- 2 -

most of all in this tragedy represent the world of the future, which the United Nations is dedicated to protect.

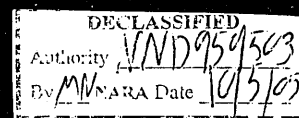
I look forward, Mr. Secretary General, to continuing close consultations with you on this matter.

Sincerely,



His Excellency
U Thant
Secretary General
of the United Nations
New York 10017

0044



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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DCP: WILES

Attention *Mrs. Mullett*
Keep this study together.

11336

July 22, 1969

Your Holiness:

I know of your deep concern as a moral leader of the world about the suffering of innocent civilians in the Nigerian civil war. I share your anguish over this human tragedy.

The present interruption in the relief effort raises the spectre of further catastrophe in Biafra. The United States is taking a number of initiatives to try to break the relief impasse. I have made direct appeals to General Gowon and the relief agencies to reach a prompt and practical agreement on the resumption of relief deliveries. Through President Houphouet-Boigny a similar message has been addressed to the Biafrans. I assured Emperor Haile Selassie during his recent visit here that the United States continues to give its fullest support and encouragement to any African efforts in restoring relief and promoting a peaceful settlement. I have expressed my hope to the Secretary General of the United Nations that his organization can make a contribution.

It is in this spirit that I am sending Ambassador Ferguson to confer with you on the problem. Your Holiness will have my strong support for any initiative you feel might lead to a resumption of relief and a formula for a peaceful settlement.

I would value any suggestions you may have.

Sincerely,

Richard Nixon

His Holiness
Pope Paul VI
Vatican City

①
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BY S/S: CMS

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0045

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By MVA Date 10/5/05

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TO Amembassy ROME - Off-in-Charge		For the Attention of	
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REFERENCE			
ITEMS/REMARKS <p>Enclosed for delivery at earliest convenience is a sealed letter from Mr. Sonnenfeldt to Honorable Wells Stabler and July 22 letter from Pres Nixon to Pope Paul.</p>			
IN REPLY REFER TO FILE NUMBER AND DRAFTING OFFICE			
FILE NO. 1077868		SIGNATURE Harry Brock	
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 Authority **VND954503**
 By **MW** NARA Date **10/5/03**

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 22, 1969

Your Holiness:

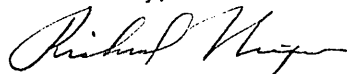
I know of your deep concern as a moral leader of the world about the suffering of innocent civilians in the Nigerian civil war. I share your anguish over this human tragedy.

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It is in this spirit that I am sending Ambassador Ferguson to confer with you on the problem. Your Holiness will have my strong support for any initiative you feel might lead to a resumption of relief and a formula for a peaceful settlement.

I would value any suggestions you may have.

Sincerely,



His Holiness
Pope Paul VI
Vatican City

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MW NARA Date 10/5/05



Pol 7 Deth
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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 06547 241349Z

48
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, NSAE 00, NSCE 00, SSO 00,
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AMEMBASSY PARIS

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PARIS: FOR FERGUSON

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF; LUNS VISIT TO NIGERIA

1. NETHERLANDS AMBASSADOR INFORMS ME THAT FOREIGN
MINISTER LUNS PASSING IN TRANSIT THROUGH NIGERIA ON
JULY 28 IN COURSE OF AFRICAN TRIP.

2. I BELIEVE IT WOULD BE VERY HELPFUL IF LUNS COULD
STOP IN LAGOS IF ONLY FOR ONE DAY TO DISCUSS DAYLIGHT
FLIGHTS AND CROSS RIVER ROUTE WITH FMG.

DECON 7/22/79. MATHEWS

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Authority VND 954503
By MNA Date 10/5/05

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

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22 JUL 69 1610Z

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Origin

ACTION: Amembassy PARIS ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ FLASH

Info

STATE

EKDIS

FOR FERGUSON FROM UNDER SECRETARY

REF : PARIS 11044

1. As we have previously indicated to French/and as President himself has indicated we are interested in any views or ideas that others may have that might lead to progress on meeting the relief problem as well as a settlement of the Nigeria/Biafran war. We have assumed from previous messages that French themselves, in addition to expressing thoughts on relief aspects would use occasion your meetings to give their views on a wide range of issues relating to war and possibly suggest political initiatives.

2. Our desire is to learn as much as we can about how French are looking at Nigerian problem and their thoughts on possible approaches to its settlement. Therefore, should French themselves not cover such issues in expected tour d'horizon you can in your discretion take initiative to solicit their views on cease fire, possible UN role in relief or political arrangements, arms problem, non-African powers talks. You should, of course, make clear that this is only an

(reb STATE 117302)

TT20335

XR POL 27-3 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA 7

Drafted by

AF:RAMoore:nm

Tel. Ext.

5208

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by

AF:DDNewsom

Clearance:

U - Mr. Grempele JPS
U/CF - Mr. Schott
AF/W - Mr. Melbourn

S/S - Mr. Brown

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FORM DS-322
8-65

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22 JUL 69 15 24z

Origin ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS PRIORITY

Info: INFO: Amembassy ADDIS ABABA
Amembassy LONDON
Amembassy PARIS
Amembassy ROME
US Mission GENEVA
USUN

STATE

~~XXXX~~ EXDIS

SUBJECT: NIGERIA: Emperor's Talk with President

1. Following is FYI NoForn based on uncleared memcon subject to revision. President and Assistant Secretary Palmer met with Emperor Selassie, Foreign Minister Ketema and Ethiopian Ambassador on July 8 at White House.

2. President emphasized our concern over Nigerian situation and asked whether Emperor had any advice for USG. HIM ~~xxxxxx~~ reviewed history of OAU and own involvement, citing various efforts of ConCom under his chairmanship to bring about peace. He had been most hopeful at last meeting of ConCom in Monrovia in April 1969 that formula might be found to provide acceptable degree of autonomy for Biafra within framework of united Nigeria but this had ~~xxxxxxxx~~ unfortunately not been successful.

Drafted by:

AF/W:RJWach:nb 7/11/69

Tel. Ext.

2946

Telegraphic transmission and

classification approved by: AF - Mr. Palmer

Clearances:

AF/NE:GRBeyer (subs)

AF/W:RMMelbourne

S/S - Mr. Brown

White House - Roger Morris

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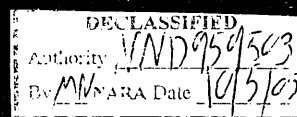
Origin	ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS PRIORITY Page 2		
Info:	<p>3. President asked where blame lay for failure reach agreement.</p> <p>HIM replied if question had to be reduced to mathematical formula he would say 80 per cent of fault with Biafrans and 20 per cent with FMG which had shown itself MY much more flexible including willingness to approve measures that would protect Ibo population.</p> <p>HIM said that although Nigerian conflict was primarily tribal problem, it had been vastly complicated by activities of certain great powers. Making clear he did not mean mean U.S., HIM expressed appreciation of American role in relief. Views of U.S. on humanitarian assistance coincided exactly with his own and he welcomed move President had made by appointing Ferguson as relief coordinator.</p> <p>4. HIM continued by emphasizing importance he attached to U.S. bringing pressure to bear on both parties to conflict to get them back to negotiating table. ConCom had not given up and and was ready resume negotiations at any time. HIM felt U.S. could be helpful in bringing both parties together, perhaps in cooperation with other powers. HIM concluded by referring to his recent meeting with Pope who had promised that if HIM could bring two sides together again, Pope would be willing attend conference and use his influence on behalf of peaceful settlement.</p>		
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Origin: ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS PRIORITY Page 3

Info:

5. Full text of conversations will be pouched when cleared.

END

[ROGERS]

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classification approved by:

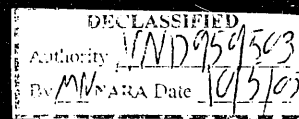
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PAGE 01 PARIS 11050 221415Z

43
ACTION SS 30

INFO OCT 01, 1961 W

055254

R 221305Z JULY 69
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5623

C O N F I D E N T I A L PARIS 11050

EXDIS

DEPARTMENT ALSO PASS INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS AND ROME

SUBJ: NIGERIAN RELIEF

REF: ROME 4520, 4529

STATE FOR U/CF

FERGUSON SUGGESTS DEPARTMENT BE ALERT FOR AN APPROPRIATE
OCCASION FOR A PRESIDENT TO POPE LETTER. POPE AND VATICAN OFFICIALS
AWARE OF EXTENSIVE PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE RE NIGERIAN
RELIEF. WHILE FERGUSON OF OPINION ABSENCE OF PAPAL LETTER OF
NO CONCERN TO POPE, BELIEVE CERTAIN LOWER RANKING VATICAN
OFFICIALS WOULD APPRECIATE SUCH A GESTURE IN CONNECTION WITH
VATICAN EFFORTS TO STRESS POPE'S HUMANITARIAN ROLE.
GP-5. SHRIVER

NOTE: NOT PASSED LAGOS, ROME BY OCT.

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U ✓✓	5+6	ARA	
J ✓	7	EA	
D		EUR	
C ✓	10	NEA	
J/PM		OTHER AGENCIES	
S/P		White House ✓✓	2-3
S/CFR		Vice President	
U/CF ✓		Defense	
		State Rep	
FUNCTIONAL BUREAUS		CIA	✓
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POC 27-9 BIAPNA-NIGERIA
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PAGE 01 GENEVA 02563 221927Z

84
ACTION ID 15

INFO OCT 01, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, 1
P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, AF 12,
EUR 17, E 15, DOT 12, AID 28, UCF 05, UPW 01, RSR 01, 181 W
..... 057436

R 221800Z JUL 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO AMEMBASSY PARIS
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 2242

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 2563

PARIS FOR AMB. FERGUSON

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF - ICRC

REF: TELECON FERGUSON-GUTMAN

ACCORDING SCHAEDLER, ICRC'S PROBLEMS WITH PILOTS DO NOT REPEAT
NOT CONCERN MORALE PER SE BUT STEADY FLOW HAIRBRAINED PROPOSITIONS
FROM PILOTS WHO WANT TO FLY DAY OR NIGHT. MOST SCHEMES INVOLVED
SOME FORMULA UNDER WHICH PILOTS WOULD FLY UNDER OWN AUSPICES
EXONERATING ICRC, I.E. WITHOUT INVOLVING ICRC IN RESPONSIBILITY
FOR FLIGHTS. SCHAEDLER MENTIONED HE HAS JUST PUT OUT NEW
DIRECTIVES REPILOT DISCIPLINE DURING PRESENT FLIGHT SUSPENSION.
EXPECTS GO OVER THIS AND OTHER MATTERS WITH GUTMAN LATER THIS
WEEK IN MORE DETAIL.
TUBBY

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45

0057

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By MVA Date 10/5/05

POC 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 02554 821532Z

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, UOF 05, UPW 01, SID 28, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JFY 04,

H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, NSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA

SR 01, ORN 03, SCA 01, ECA 01, FCA 01, GCA 01, HCA 01, ICA 01, JCA 01, KCA 01, LCA 01, MCA 01, NCA 01, OCA 01, PCA 01, QCA 01, RCA 01, SCA 01, TCA 01, UCA 01, VCA 01, WCA 01, XCA 01, YCA 01, ZCA 01

R 221510Z JUL 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC EECZ
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY PARIS

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PARIS FOR AMB FERGUSON

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF

REF: GENEVA 25318 S) TELECON AMB. FERGUSON-GUTMAN 7-22

1. JCA HAS RELEASED PRESIDENT NIXON'S LETTER TO BISHOP SWANSTON. LOCAL JOURNAL DE GENEVE PUBLISHED LETTER TODAY UNDER HEADING "PRESIDENT NIXON WRITES TO ICRC PRESIDENT NAVILLE" (PROBABLY REFERRING TO OPENING SENTENCE OF LETTER).

2. BASED REF TELECON WE INFORMED BASSET (WHO RAISED QUESTION WITH US TODAY) THAT THERE NO REPEAT NO OBJECTIONS TO PUBLICATION BY ICRC OF PRESIDENTIAL LETTER TO NAVILLE.

TURBY

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By MN NARA Date 10/5/05

(11)



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

XL SOC 3 RED CROSS

CONFIDENTIAL 195

PAGE 01 COTONO 00773 221745Z

44

ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01 AF 12 AID 28 IO 13 EUR 17 SR 01 ORM 03 SCA 01 SCS 04

UPW 01 SSO 00 CCO 00 NSCE 00 USIE 00 CIAE 00 DODE 00 JPM 04 H 02

INR 07 L 03 NSAE 00 NSC 10 P 04 RSC 01 SP 02 SS 20 E 15 RSE 01

/155 W

P R 221615Z JUL 69
FM AMEMBASSY COTONOU
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2286
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS

C O N F I D E N T I A L COTONOU 773

LAGOS FOR USAID (ORR)

DEPT FOR U/CF FROM THOMAS

ICRC AIRPLANE CREW MORALE VERY LOW. TALKED TO ICRC LOAD-MASTER LEAVING MONDAY JULY 21, 1969. HE INDICATED PLANE LOAD OF CREW MEMBERS (ABOUT 35) LEAVING MONDAY NIGHT. ANY CREW MEMBER COULD GO AS LONG AS HE HAD TAKEN OUT PROPER INSURANCE. CONSIDERED R&R FOR CREW MEMBERS AND THEY ARE BEING PUT ON STANDBY FOR REMAINDER OF PERIOD OF CONTRACT. CREW MEMBERS LEAVING FROM COTONOU AS WELL AS FROM SANTA ISABEL AND THEY WILL BE GOING TO GENEVA AND STOCKHOLM.

VISITED BIAFRAN REFUGEE CAMP COTONOU. MADE UP OF SEVERAL LARGE HOUSES WITH COURTYARDS. AT ONE TIME THERE WERE UP TO SIXTY (60) REFUGEES BUT PRESENTLY ABOUT SIX (6) AND THEY ARE BEING REPATRIATED AS THERE IS LITTLE NEED FOR THE CAMP SINCE THERE ARE NO ICRC FLIGHTS INTO THE ENCLAVE TO PICKUP MORE REFUGEES.

ALSO VISITED WAREHOUSES AT PORT FACILITIES AND AT AIRPORT COTONOU WITH MR. ANSELL OF ICRC. (ICRC DIRECTOR WACHTMEISTER, COTONOU SICK WITH MALARIA.) AT WAREHOUSES AT PORT, THERE WAS ABOUT 2000 CUBIC METERS OF STOCKFISH, 2000 CUBIC METERS OF RICE AND 4000 CUBIC METERS GSM. GOODS STACKED WELL, NOT TOO HIGH AND VERY FEW DAMAGED BAGS IN EVIDENCE.

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PAGE 02 COTONO 00773 221745Z

AT AIRPORT THERE IS STILL NO INFLATABLE WAREHOUSE ALTHOUGH
IT WAS ORDERED IN MARCH 1969. PROBABLY ABOUT 500 CUBIC METERS
UNICEF MEDICINES OF ALL KINDS IN CARDBOARD BOXES, 1000 CUBIC METERS
OF POWDERED MILK AND 1000 CUBIC METERS OF CSM. ALL PROTECTED FROM
THE WEATHER BY ICRC CORROGATED METAL TEMPORARY WAREHOUSES WELL
STACKED WITH FEW DAMAGED BAGS AND ALSO GUARDED AT ALL TIMES.

REQUEST PERSONAL MAIL BE FORWARDED AMEMBASSY COTONOU. LOORAM

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0060

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Authority	VND954503
By	MMNARA Date 10/5/05

66



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ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS

INFO: Amembassy LONDON
Amembassy OTTAWA
US Mission GENEVA
USUN NEW YORK

STATE _____

SUBJECT:

REF: Lagos 6424

1. For clarification reftel, Committee for Nigeria-Biafra, Inc. proposal envisages Sikorsky CH-53 (internal load carrying helicopter), not "flying crane." They had considered flying crane but dropped it for the same reasons we rejected it several months ago--extremely short range at full load and limited availability.
2. Robards jumped on crane idea after U/CF had already rejected it. He backed off on learning of the rejection. According Committee for Nigeria-Biafra, he is not involved in current proposal.

U/CF: AEDewey

DRAFTING DATE 7/22/69 TEL. EXT. 8835

APPROVED BY: U/CF - Stephen C. Schott

CLEARANCES: AF/W - Mr. Faville
AFR/CWA - Mr. North
DOD/ISA - Col. Hamilton

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4-68

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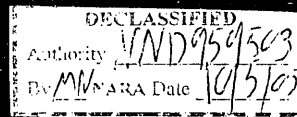
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	<p>3. Following is U/CF view of Committee's proposal:</p> <p>a) It was presented in extremely sketchy detail to Department. Consisted mainly of Sikorsky work-up on three type mission profiles. XX^{No} indication of how the CH-53 would be integrated in a total delivery system, except with general reference to ships which might be made available, such as aircraft carriers.</p> <p>b) U/CF requested Mr. Dan Jacobs of Committee to do systems type work-up before we could consider it seriously here. To date, we have seen no evidence of this additional homework--only indications of further checks on availability of aircraft carriers.</p> <p>c) Copy of proposal has been forwarded to DOD for assessment of XXXX logistics feasibility. We also XXXXXXXXXX ascertaining potential divertability of XX CH-53's from Defense requirements.</p>	
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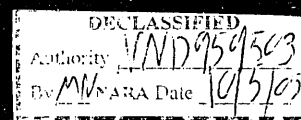
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	<p>4. In addition to waiting for logistics details, U/CF holding proposal in abeyance since we feel outcome current discussions on daylight flights will have bearing on whether another relief formula, such as ship-helicopter discharge, has a chance, or any better chance of acceptance.</p> <p>5. FYI: Jacobs, of Committee, impatient at delay, promises "propaganda campaign" to gain domestic support for idea. End FYI.</p> <p>END</p> <p>ROGERS</p>	
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PAGE 01 PARIS 11045 221149Z

53: S
ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, EUR 17, IO 13, SS 20, NSC 10, CIAE 00, INR 07, NSAE 00,
RSC 01, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, AID 28, L 03, RSR 01, 127 W
054404

P R 221105Z JUL 69
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5615
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L PARIS 11045

SUBJ: NIGERIAN RELIEF

REF: LAGOS 6541

IN LIGHT REFTTEL PARA 4 AND 5 SUGGEST SEWEY AND FLAHJTY BE IN
GENEVA JULY 27 WITH ALL SPECS AND MAPS LSM OPERATION.

GP-3.

SHRIVER

PARIS - 11045
7-22-69

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STATE

SUBJ: NIGERIA/BIAFRA

REF : Paris 11023

Report being repeated per reftel.

GP-4

END

120549

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DRAFTING DATE: 7/21/69
TEL. EXT.: 8783
APPROVED BY: U/CF:SCSchott

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S/S - Mr. Brown

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STATE

FOR FERGUSON

SUBJ: LSM's

REF : A. State 120372

B. Rome 4530

To convey coordinated position to Lagos, request you
confirm to them your concurrence with Reftel A.

GP-4

END

ROGERS

DRAFTED BY:
U/CF:AEDewey:ls

DRAFTING DATE
7/21/69

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8783

APPROVED BY:
U/CF:SCSchock

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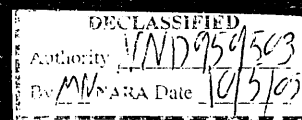
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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
XR DEF 12-5 BIAFRA
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PAGE 01 LIBREV 00754 230930Z

18
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, UCF 05, UPW 01, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02,
INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, SR 01,
ORM 03, SCA 01, SCS 04, AID 28, RSR 01, /158 W 062233

R 211640Z JUL 69
FM AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2724
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY DAKAR
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMCONGEN LUANDA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
CINCSTRIKE/MEAFSA
DIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L LIBREVILLE 754

CITE SICR-DCDB 21909 (DIA)

SUBJECT: BIAFRAN AIRLIFT

1. AIRLIFT HAS INCREASED IN INTENSITY THIS WEEK WITH
THREE, POSSIBLY FOUR, PRESUMED ARMS CARRIERS AND THREE
RELIEF CARRIERS OPERATING OUT OF LIBREVILLE. FOLLOWING
PRESUMED ARMS FLIGHT HAVE BEEN MADE SINCE JULY 15:

DC-4 F-BBDD NIGHTS JULY 15-16, 16-17, 17-18, 18-19, 19-20,
20-21 AND 21-22;

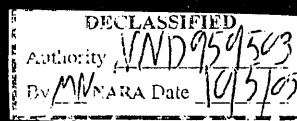
DC-7 TR-LIK NIGHTS JULY 19-20, 20-21 AND 21-22;

DC-7 TR-LOJ NIGHTS JULY 19-20, 20-21 AND 21-22.

(2)

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 LIBREV 00754 230930Z

2. FOLLOWING PRESUMED RELIEF FLIGHTS SINCE JULY 15:

DC-4 F-BRHQ NIGHTS JULY 15-16, 16-17, 17-18, 18-19, 19-20,
20-21 AND 21-22;

DC-4 F-BRAP NIGHTS JULY 15-16, 16-17, 18-19 AND 21-22;

DC-6 00-HEX NIGHTS JULY 17-18, 18-19, 19-20, 20-21 AND 21-22.

3. DC-7 TR-LOK RETURNED LIBREVILLE WITH A SECOND DC-7
IDENTIFIED AS TR-LOJ NIGHT JULY 18-19 AND BOTH HAVE MADE
PRESUMED ARMS FLIGHTS PER PARA ONE. A THIRD DC-7 ARRIVED
NIGHT OF JULY 21-22 PAINTED SAME AS TWO IDENTIFIED ABOVE.
NELSON

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0068

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By	MMNARA Date 10/5/05

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Rome 445 444
7/21/69

PAGE 01 ROME 04544 211233Z

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ACTION SS 30

INFO OCT 01, /031 W

049818

R 211205Z JUL 69
FM AMEMBASSY ROME
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1635
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY PARIS

SECRET ROME 4544

EXDIS

PARIS FOR AMBASSADOR FERGUSON

SUBJECT: NIGERIA/BIAFRA

REF: STATE 120361

1. WE BRIEFED FOREIGN OFFICE DIRECTOR GENERAL POLITICAL AFFAIRS GAJA JULY 21 ON USG EFFORTS ON BIAFRA ALONG LINES AUTHORIZED STATE REFTEL.

2. IN EXPRESSING APPRECIATION FOR OUR BRIEFING GAJA INDICATED THAT ALTHOUGH ITALIAN PARLIAMENT HAD UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED RESOLUTION URGING ITALIAN INITIATIVE, THERE WAS NOT MUCH ITALY COULD DO AT THIS TIME EXCEPT CONTRIBUTING TO RELIEF EFFORTS. IN VIEW OF GOVERNMENT CRISIS NO POLITICAL INITIATIVE COULD BE CONSIDERED, ALTHOUGH GAJA THOUGHT THAT ONCE A NEW GOVERNMENT WAS FORMED THERE WOULD BE CONSIDERABLE PRESSURE FOR ITALY TO DO SOMETHING. HE IMPLIED THAT THIS PRESSURE WOULD INCREASE IF POPE BECAME ACTIVELY INVOLVED IN PEACE INITIATIVE.

3. REGARDING HOUPHOUET VISIT, GAJA DID NOT BELIEVE MUCH WOULD EMERGE BEYOND GENERAL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON BIAFRA. HOUPHOUET TOO COMMITTED TO BIAFRA SIDE TO BE ABLE TO PLAY USEFUL MEDIATING ROLE. AT SAME TIME, GOI WOULD WELCOME CLOSER RELATIONSHIPS WITH IVORY COAST PROVIDED NO "GIFTS" WERE EXPECTED.

SECRET

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PAGE 02 ROME 04544 211233Z

4. GAJA RECOGNIZED THAT FRENCH MIGHT PLAY IMPORTANT
ROLE IN BIAFRA CAUSE, BUT SAID HE HAD NO INDICATIONS THAT
FRENCH POLICY TOWARD BIAFRA (AS WELL AS ON OTHER MATTERS)
HAD UNDERGONE MANY CHANGES SINCE MAY.
GP-2.

ACKLEY

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Pol 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 PARIS 11023 211239Z

43
ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, AF 12, SCA 01, SCS 04, SR 01, ORM 03, AID 28, CIAE 00,
DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02,

SS 20, USIA 12, RSR 01, SSO 00, UPW 01, IO 13, /152 W
049843

P 211225Z JUL 69
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5606

C O N F I D E N T I A L PARIS 11023

SUBJ: NIGERIA/BIAFRA

1. WE ASSUME DEPARTMENT IS REPEATING TO PARIS REPORT OF
AMBASSADOR FERGUSON'S TALK WITH POPE ON NIGERIA/BIAFRA.
IT WOULD BE USEFUL HAVE IT PRIOR TO AMBASSADOR FERGUSON'S
TALKS WITH FRENCH OFFICIALS. JULY 22.

GP-3 SHRIVER

PARIS-11023
7-21-69

CONFIDENTIAL

0072

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By	MNARA Date 10/5/05



Ref 27.9 Bufr - Nigeria
Department of State
TELEGRAM

CONFIDENTIAL 260

PAGE 01 LAGOS 06543 211511Z

BM

ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01AAF 12AEUR 1710 13CJAE 00DODE 00JPM 04H 02LINE 01

L 03NSAE 00NSC 10P 04RSC 01SP 02SS 20USIA 12AID 287R 01

ORM 03SCS 04SCA 01UPW 01SPW 02INT 02E 15RSH 011111Z
050026

P 211330Z JUL 69

FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORIT 7885

INFO USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION USUN

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 6543

PARIS FOR FERGUSON

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF USE OF LSM'S

REF STATE 100372Z JUNE 65001 LAGOS 6460 6508, 6526
AND 6530

12-27-9 B-m

IT APPEARS TO BE FROM CONSIDERABLE MISUNDERSTANDING
AS TO PROPOSAL USE LSM'S PURPOSE IS TO GET NIGERIAN
FLEET AND PARTICULARLY SOUTHEASTERNS ACCUSTOMED
TO USE LSM'S WHICH HAVE BEEN SUBJECT GREAT DEAL OF
PRESS CRITICISM AND OPPOSITION. WE HAVE NO REPEAT
NO BARGAINING LEVERAGE WITH FMO ON USE LSM'S. AS
LAP AD AREA CONCERNED SHIPS COULD REMAIN TIED UP AT
DOCK IN LAGOS UNTIL SOMETHING WORKED OUT ON CROSS RIVER
MOVIE. WE HOPE BY INITIATING USE SOME OF CRITICISM
WILL SUBSIDE. WE DO NOT REPEAT NOT BELIEVE AGREEMENT
POSSIBLE INITIAL TRIP BEYOND CALABAR.

24 GENERAL GOWON IS SYMPATHETIC TO USE LSM'S AND
CROSS RIVERROUTE IF WAYS AND MEANS CAN BE FOUND
SURMOUNT WHAT TO HIM ARE VERY REAL SECURITY AND
POLITICALPROBLEMS. LARGE AMOUNT OF PUBLICITY GIVEN

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0073

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 06543 211511Z

HIS INCIDENTAL AND PASSING COMMENT TO OUTGOING MILITARY OBSERVER GENERAL HIRTLION AS REPORTED LAGOS 6529 AND 6540 IS EVIDENCE THAT FMG IN ITS WAY IS BEGINNING TO MODIFY DOMESTIC PUBLIC OPINION. ANY USE LSM FOR WHICH WE CAN GET APPROVAL WOULD BE MOVE IN RIGHT DIRECTION. WE WOULD OF COURSE HOPE GET APPROVAL AFTER TRIP OR TWO TO CARRY CARGO UP RIVER AT LEAST AS FAR AS NWANIBA. CLIMATE SIMPLY WILL NOT REPEAT NOT PERMIT ACHIEVING THIS IN FIRST OPERATION.

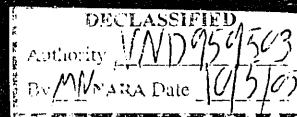
3. CURRENT PLAN ICRC AS INDICATED LAGOS 6526 IS TO USE LSM IN FIRST OPERATION TO CARRY STOCK FISH TO FORT HARCOURT. IN CONVERSATION WITH EGLI ICRC! YESTERDAY, HE TOLD A/DCM REASON FOR CHOICE OF FORT HARCOURT AS DESTINATION WAS CONCERN THAT ICRC SOON HAVE TO GIVE UP STORAGE FACILITIES AT PLYWOOD FACTORY. EGLI SAID DMO BARE (WHO CONFIRMED THIS TO AMBASSADOR THIS MORNING) IN FACT HAD NO OBJECTION TO HAVE FIRST VOYAGE GO TO CALABAR. ICRC WE BELIEVE WILL BE PREPARED PROPOSE CALABAR AS DESTINATION FOR FIRST TRIP.

4. WE NOT INFORMED ON DETAILS FERGUSON/LINDY AGREEMENT COPENHAGEN. WE DID INITIATE NEGOTIATIONS ON CROSS RIVER IN ACCORDANCE WITH WHAT WE BELIEVED WERE DEPARTMENT'S VIEWS WITH RESPECT TO GETTING "ONE SHOT" UNDERWAY. AS DEPARTMENT WILL RECALL ICRC INITIALLY FELT UNABLE PARTICIPATE BUT SUBSEQUENTLY RECEIVED AUTHORIZATION DO SO. ICRC HERE HAS ASSUMED THAT IF ONE SHOT OPERATION COULD NOT BE GOTTEN OFF GROUND SOON THERE NO REPEAT NO REASON FOR NOT MAKING USE OF THESE RED CROSS CHARTERED SHIPS FOR CARRYING RELIEF GOODS IN FEDERAL HELD AREA. ICRC FOR ITS PART SEEMS VERY CONSCIOUS THAT IT IS CONTRACTOR FOR AND HAS RESPONSIBILITY FOR USE LSM'S.

5. WE PUZZLED BY COMMENT OF STATE 120372 THAT THERE IS "STRONG ODOR OF CORRUPTION" WITH RESPECT USE OF LSM'S. THAT THERE EFFORTS BY CERTAIN FORCES TO DRAIN OFF RELIEF SUPPLIES IS TRUE, ALTHOUGH WE DO NOT REPEAT NOT YET KNOW EXTENT. WE DO NOT AGREE WITH IMPLICATION THAT FMG PRESSING FOR IMMEDIATE AND PERHAPS EXCLUSIVE USE LSM'S ON FMG SIDE.

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0074





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PAGE 02 LAGOS 06543 211511Z

IF AYALLA EXPRESSING HER VIEW WE DOUBT THAT IT REFLECTS THE VIEW IN LAGOS WHERE PRESS COMMENT HAS MAINLY CLAMORED FOR QUICK DEPARTURE HOME OF LSM'S.

6. WE THOUGHT BEST IN INITIAL OPERATION TO EMPLOY DONA MARIA SINCE AT IT HAD NOT REPEAT NOT RECEIVED NOTORIETY THAT DONA MERCEDES DID A VIEW SHARED BY ICRC AND OMO BAREILAGOS (SUS) AND B; DONA MERCEDES ALREADY LOADED WITH CARGO WHICH DEPARTMENT HAS INFORMED REBELS WOULD BE ABANDONED. WE DO NOT REPEAT NOT BELIEVE THAT USE OF EITHER OR BOTH SHIPS IN RELIEF OPERATION WITHIN FEDERALLY HELD AREAS WOULD BRING THEM POLITICALLY AN REBEL VIEW ANY MORE THAN HAS ALREADY HAPPENED BY LONG TIE UP AT LAGOS DOCKS.

7. RE PARA 4 DEPARTMENT'S 120302 NO REPEAT NO THOUGHT OF BACK HAULING ANY COMMERCIAL CARGO. THIS IDEA FLOATED BY FLETCHER IN LAGOS 3710 BUT HAS NEVER BEEN SERIOUSLY CONSIDERED HERE BY ICRC.

8. RE DEPARTMENT'S 120372 HALF MERCEDES CARGO UNLOADED AND GRANT IN AID IN PROCESS TURN OVER TO THE REHAB COMMISSION. BALANCE STILL ABOARD.

9. WE STRONGLY SUPPORT DECISION ICRC EMPLOY DONA MARIA TO MOVE SOUTHWEST WITHIN FEDERAL AREA AND WILL CROSS CALABAR AS ULTIMATE DESTINATION.
END
BT

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0075

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By	MN/ARA Date 10/5/02



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 202

PAGE 01 LAGOS 06541 211310Z

43
ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, DODE 00, CIAE 00, USIE 00, /07 W
049949

O R 211240Z JUL 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7881
INFO USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY PARIS

S E C R E T LAGOS 6541

PARIS FOR FERGUSON

LIMDIS

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF: CROSS RIVER ROUTE

REF STATE 120425

1. ARIKPO WAS OUT OF TOWN UNTIL THIS MORNING HAD HAD
HEAVY SCHEDULE APPOINTMENTS SO I DELIVERED LETTER TO
DEPPERMSSEC ENAHORO AND MADE POINTS IN PARAGRAPH 3

REFTEL. ENAHORO SAID HE WOULD TRY SEE ARIKPO BEFORE
TWO O'CLOCK IN HOPE LETTER COULD BE DISCUSSED AT DODAN
BARRACKS THIS AFTERNOON.

2. ARIKPO AND I MET AT ELEVATOR AS I LEFT ENAHORO SO
I WAS ABLE TO GIVE ARIKPO BRIEF FILL IN BEFORE HE
DEPARTED FOR DODAN BARRACKS.

3. I HAD EARLIER THIS MORNING INFORMED OMO BARE OF
LETTER DURING FAREWELL CALL.

4. ALL THREE OFFICIALS SEEMED TO ACCEPT THAT FMG
COMMITTED TO SEND REPRESENTATIVES TO MEETING CONVOKED
BY FERGUSON. BOTH ARIKPO AND DEPPERMSSEC ENAHORO MADE
POINT THAT ABSENCE FROM COUNTRY OF COMMISSIONER ENAHORO
WHO IN CHARGE RELIEF POLICY MIGHT COMPLICATE MATTERS.
I ARGUED ATTENDANCE AT MEETING WAS NOT NEW POLICY ISSUE

SECRET
24

0076

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 06541 211310Z

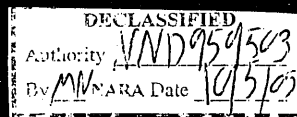
AS FMG WILLINGNESS ATTEND SUCH MEETING DECIDED LONG AGO.

5. I AM CONFIDENT FMG WILL DESIGNATE REPRESENTATIVES
FOR MEETING. I AM LESS SURE THAT THEY CAN MEET DEADLINE
SET BY LETTER OR THAT REPRESENTATIVES WILL BE PREPARED
DISCUSS ALL OPERATIONAL MATTERS.

GP-3.
MATHEWS

SECRET

0077



L I N D I S

I N C O M I N G

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Functional

Principals and
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2/10/69

0078

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Pol 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 06540 211437Z

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, UCF 05, UPW 01, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SC 04,

SCA 01, E 15, CIAE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04,

RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, RSR 01, /173 W

050241

P R 211230Z JUL 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7882
INFO AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN
CINCSSTRIKE/CINCMCAFSA
DIA
AMCONSUL KADUNA
AMCONSUL IBADAN

CONFIDENTIAL LAGOS 6540

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF CROSS RIVERROUTE AND FMG
POLICY ON RELIEF

REF LAGOS 6529

1. GOVERNMENT OWNED MORNING POST FEATURED FAREWELL CALL ON
GOWON BY CANADIAN OBSERVER GENERAL HAMILTON WITH HEADLINE
STORY JULY 19: "GOWON ON FATE OF DONA MERCEDES: TWO POINTS
TO BE IRONED OUT." SUBSTANCE CONVERSATION REPORTED REFTEL
CANADIAN HICOMER POINTS OUT THAT SUBJECT CROSS RIVER ROUTE
ONLY BRIEFLY MENTIONED IN HAMILTON'S DISCUSSION WITH GOWON
AND THAT FMG THEREFORE OBVIOUSLY CHOSE TO HIGHLIGHT THIS
ASPECT OF CONVERSATION BY DESIGN. WE AGREE THAT IT HIGHLY
LIKELY FMG DELIBERATELY CHOSE GOWON HAMILTON MEETING TO
CONVEY GOWON'S VIEW TO PUBLIC ON CROSS RIVERROUTE AS
WELL AS POLICY OF RELIEF TO REBELS IN FACE CONFLICTING
STATEMENTS BY OTHER FMG OFFICIALS ON BOTH SUBJECTS.

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0079

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By	MM NARA Date 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 06540 211437Z

CARTOON IN NEW NIGERIAN RECENTLY TOOK FMG TO TASK FOR AMBIVALENT AND CONTRADICTORY POLICY STATEMENTS ON RELIEF BY SUCH OFFICIALS AS ARIKPO ENAHORO AND AWOLowo.

2. FMG STATEMENT ON GENERAL RELIEF POLICY IS OBVIOUS REBUTTAL TO PURPORTED VIEW OF AWOLowo WHICH LATTER HAS NOT YET SEEN FIT TO DISCLAIM. BEGIN QUOTE: THE HEAD OF STATE EMPHASIZED THAT FMG DID NOT REGARD STARVATION AS A LEGITIMATE WEAPON OF WAR IN PRESENT OPERATION TO CRUSH OJUKWU'S REBELLION. IT WAS AS RESULT OF THIS POLICY THAT GOVERNMENT ENCOURAGED AND WELCOMED ALL GENUINE AND HONEST RELIEF OPERATIONS IN THE COUNTRY. END QUOTE.

3. PRESS STATEMENT OPENS WITH GOWON'S VIEWS ON CROSS RIVERROUTE. BEGIN QUOTE: MAJOR GENERAL YAKUBU GOWON HAS DECLARED THAT TWO IMPORTANT ISSUES WOULD HAVE TO BE IRONED OUT BEFORE THE AMERICAN LANDING SHIP THE DONA MERCEDES COULD EMBARK ON ITS RELIEF OPERATION IN NIGERIA. THESE ARE THE DETAILS OF THE OPERATION ITSELF AND THE OVERALL QUESTION OF SECURITY. HE POINTED OUT THAT THESE PREREQUISITES WERE DESIGNED TO ENSURE THAT THERE WERE NO LOOPHOLES FOR REBEL INFILTRATION INTO THE SOUTHEASTERN STATE. END QUOTE.

4. COMMENT: ALTHOUGH TIME WILL TELL FMG APPEARS TO BE PREPARING PUBLIC OPINION FOR POSSIBLE FUTURE USE OF LSMS BY ASSURING PUBLIC THAT GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT PERMIT RELIEF OPERATIONS WHICH COULD JEOPARDIZE FMG SECURITY AND WAR EFFORT. IN EFFECT FMG IS TELLING ITS PUBLIC THAT ONCE THESE PREREQUISITES MET, LSMS "COULD EMBARK ON ITS RELIEF OPERATION", IN CONSONANCE WITH DECLARED FMG POLICY TO BRING WAR TO ITS EARLIEST CONCLUSION WHILE "EQUALLY TACKLING THE PROBLEM OF RECONSTRUCTION, REHABILITATION AND RECONCILIATION".

GP-4.
MATHEWS

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0080

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75



Department of State ^{POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA} **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 979

PAGE 01 GENEVA 02544 2 1457Z

42
ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01, 1971 W

047122

P. 201438Z JUL 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2223

S E C R E T GENEVA 2544
~~LIMDIS~~
EYES ONLY ASST SECY AF

REFTEL 122362

FEEL SURE MISSION CAN PROVIDE OR ARRANGE FOR ADEQUATE SUPPORT POSSIBLE
MEETING AS OUTLINED REFTEL. IN PARTICULAR HAVE REQUESTED USE MANTONAL
OWNED VILLA WHICH QUITE SUITABLE FOR PURPOSE; WILL OBTAIN CONFIRMATION
MONDAY AM.

SEE NO PROBLEM IN SECURING ACCEPTABLE COMMUNICATIONS SINCE FMG LOCALLY
REPRESENTED AND GOVTS WHICH RECOGNIZE BIAFRA" PRESENT GENEVA.

ASIDE FROM POSSIBLE SECRETARIAL NEED WE HAVE NO PROBLEM PROVIDING
REQUIRED LOGISTICAL SUPPORT--TRANSPORTATION, LODGING, ETC.

WOULD APPRECIATE MAXIMUM ADVANCE NOTICE TO FACILITATE FINALIZING ARRANGEMENTS.
TUBBY

NOTE: LIMDIS ADDED PER SSO - MR. JOHNSTON. 7/20/69.

GENEVA-2544
7-20-69

SECRET 22

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0081

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Authority VND954503
By MNA Date 10/5/05

L I M D I S

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I N C O M I N G

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POL 27-9 BIARRA-
NIGERIA 120459

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20 JUL 69 16 54Z

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ACTION: USMission GENEVA

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STATE

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657081

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Drafted by:

S/S-O:JJJohnston:jfd

Tel. Ext.
4141

Telegraphic transmission and
classification approved by:

S/S-O:RGRich

Clearances:

U N C L A S S I F I E D

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FORM
8-65 DS-322

0083

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Authority VMD 959503
By MWA Date 10/5/03



SECRET

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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08

Department of State

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19 JUL 69 18 43Z

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ACTION: USMission GENEVA

~~IMMEDIATE~~

STATE

EYES ONLY FOR IMMEDIATE DELIVERY SUNDAY A.M.

FOR AMBASSADOR TUBBY

1. Please advise your preparedness provide for possible meeting of Nigerian and Biafran representatives in Geneva. considering Department/~~preparing~~ invitation to both sides meet with

Ferguson in Geneva July 28.

Would appreciate following info:

2. / x considerations x include x

a. Recommendation for and allocation of specific secure conference location, e.g. private villa in environs Geneva.

b. Both parties have been offered secure communications, if necessary. We assume such communications already available to both sides, but if requested does Geneva have necessary facilities.

DRAFTED BY:

U/CF: AEDewey

CLEARANCES:

DRAFTING DATE

7/18/69

TEL. EXT.

8835

APPROVED BY:

U/CF: SCSchott

AF: RCMoore (in draft) ^{SES} U: ~~CRUSER~~ JDStempel

AK/KKxxRURexkxoxmxex

~~IO/UNP~~ IO/UNP - Miss Jones

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4-68

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Appendix IV

23

MMARA Date 10/3/02



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TELEGRAM

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ACTION: USMission GENEVA

Page 2

c. Administrative arrangements (secretarial, transportation, lodging, etc.) for what is envisaged would be a small party (3-4 persons) from each side.

ROGERS

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DRAFTING DATE

TEL. EXT.

APPROVED BY:

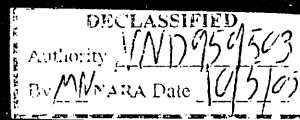
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4-68

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75-

POL 27-9 BIARRA-NIGERIA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

UNCLASSIFIED
Classification

120427

B

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19 JUL 69 23 20Z

Origin ACTION: USMission GENEVA

Info: STATE

~~EXX~~ State 120362 has been raised to LIMDIS.

END
POL 27-9 7-19

120427

ROGERS

Drafted by: S/S-O:JJJohnston:pvkn
Tel. Ext. _____
Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: S/S-O:Mr. Rich

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UNCLASSIFIED
Classification

FORM 8-65 DS-322

0086

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POK 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria
1 2 0 3 6 1

19 JUL 69 18 41 Z

Origin

ACTION: Amembassy ROME IMMEDIATE

Info:

INFO: Amembassy ADDIS ABABA IMMEDIATE

STATE _____

E X D I S

REF ROME 4471 AND 4388

1. Embassy can discuss with GOI general outline of USG efforts to help break relief impasse typified by problem of daylight flights and to support initiatives seeking ways to end fighting. White House statement issued July 18 illustrative of US efforts.

2. With respect to Ferguson discussion with the Pope you should indicate that Ferguson, in carrying official message, sought to enlist the Pope's help in alleviating relief impasse. Ferguson also gave assurance that US would support in every suitable way any Papal initiative directed toward this end or to ways which might help end fighting. Believe it preferable, however, that you not discuss particulars of Ethiopian-US initiative, or GP-3 details of Ferguson-Pope discussions.

END

ROGERS

Drafted by:

AF/W:RMMelbourne:dal 7-19-69

Tel. Ext.
2619

Telegraphic transmission and
classification approved by:

AF - C Robert Moore

Clearances:

EUR - Mr. Crump

S/S - Mr. Brown

FORM DS-322
8-65

Classification

0087

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Authority VMD 954563
By MVA Date 10/5/00

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Department of State
TELEGRAM

Pol. 27-9 Biafra -
Nigeria

120425

33 B

INDICATE:
☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS
US Mission GENEVA
Amembassy PARIS.

PRIORITY

PRIORITY

STATE

SUBJECT: Nigerian/Biafran Relief

LIMDIS

Paris for Ambassador ~~xxx~~ Ferguson.

1. Department seriously concerned about FMG attitude toward Cross River route. No response to earlier Ferguson letter to either Arikpo or Biafran Representative in New York has been received. Therefore, decision has been taken to invite both sides meet with Ferguson in Geneva on July 28 to discuss modalities of Cross River operation. You are requested to deliver following letter to Arikpo ASAP.

2. BEGIN QUOTE:

Dear Dr. Arikpo:

In my recent letter to you I urged that negotiations commence as soon as possible on the modalities.

③

DRAFTED BY: SCSchoff U/CF	DRAFTING DATE 7/18/69	TEL. EXT. 6215	APPROVED BY: U/CF-SCSchoff
------------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------	-------------------------------

CLEARANCES:

U - Mr. ~~RUSSEL~~ Stempel (draft) SCS
AF - Mr. Moore SCS
AF - Mr. Melbourne RMN by PW

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Classification

FORM DS-322
4-68

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Authority VND954503
By MW NARA Date 10/5/09



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Department of State

TELEGRAM

INDICATE:

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Page 2

of telegram to LAGOS, GENEVA, PARIS

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION:

for the operation of the Cross River Route.

We are reliably informed that conditions within the enclave point up the necessity for earliest resumption of authorized relief shipments. Your Government has reported that continued military activity along the Cross River and popular sentiment in the South East State render it difficult to commence immediate operation of the Cross River route. However, it is also true that this situation may change suddenly, and it would be wise to have concluded the necessary agreements on modalities in order to avoid any delay in the operation of the route.

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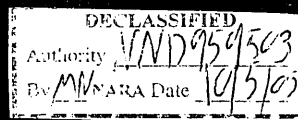
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Department of State

TELEGRAM

PAGE 3
of telegram to LAGOS, GENEVA, PARIS

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: ~~AMEMBASSY LAGOS~~
~~US MISSION GENEVA~~

In order to conclude the necessary agreements,
I am requesting that both parties send special delegations
to Geneva to meet with me in strictest confidence. I
shall be in Geneva and prepared to commence negotiations
on July 28. I would hope that you will be able to send
a delegation prepared to discuss all operational matters
of the Cross River route.

I cannot express in words how strongly I feel about
the urgency of this matter. It is deeply disturbing to
me, as I know it must be to you, that relief supplies
have been hindered from reaching the unfortunate victims
of this civil war.

I shall await your early reply in Geneva where I
will be on the 24th. I trust that at the same time I may

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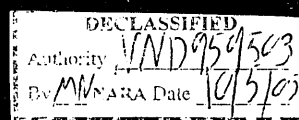
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4-68

0091





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PAGE 4
of telegram to LAGOS, GENEVA, PARIS

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~
~~AMEMBASSY LAGOS~~
~~US Mission GENEVA~~

have your formal reply to my preceding communication.
Sincerely yours, C. Clyde Ferguson
/END QUOTE.

3. In your oral presentation to Arikpo you should repeat statement in letter that: 1) We are aware that FMG does not consider actual operation of the route feasible at present due to military activity in the area and sentiment against the route in S.E. State, but point out that this may only be a temporary matter which could change as rapidly as it developed and, therefore, important that agreement on modalities of operation of the route be ready (Refer to your conversation on this point with Baba Gana in Lagos 6101); 2) FMG must now show its good faith by proceeding with serious negotiations with a view to eventual operation of the ships; 3) If present situation continues without

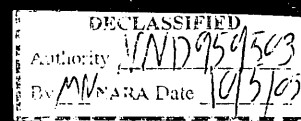
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Page 5

of telegram to LAGOS, GENEVA, PARIS

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ACTION:

any forward movement towards meeting problems of implementing Cross River route, two LSM's will be a continuing embarrassment to both U.S. and FMG. As FMG knows, U.S. believes this route provides most practicable and effective means of meeting relief needs in Biafran enclave while avoiding military or political advantage to either side. U.S. hopes very strongly that FMG will be able to find in very near future that there are no further overriding security objections to its use. 4) FMG should recognize that negotiations could show that Biafrans are unwilling allow implementation this route with obvious consequences for their public image. 5) A similar invitation is being given to the Biafrans (text follows).

4. If Arikpo raises question of communications offered originally by Ferguson, you should state that offer

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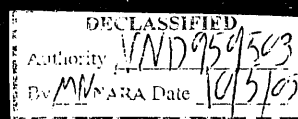
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	<p>still good.</p> <p>5. You should inform Sir Leslie Glass of this initiative and seek UK support to obtain FMG agreement send delegation to meet with Ferguson.</p> <p>6. Following letter being communicated simultaneously to Biafran Special Representative in New York:</p> <p><u>BEGIN QUOTE</u></p> <p>Dear Dr. Otue:</p> <p>In my letter to you of June 30, to which I have received no formal reply, I requested your agreement to site for negotiations on the Cross River route. It has been our mutual understanding that such negotiations by the parties must be held, and I have been working to arrange a neutral site for negotiations agreeable to both sides. In the meantime, the actual operation has not been</p>		
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0094

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Authority VIND 959503
By MW NARA Date 10/5/00



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Department of State

TELEGRAM

Page 7

of telegram to LAGOS, GENEVA, PARIS

INDICATE:

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ACTION:

started despite the urgent need.

Even though there may be difficulties that temporarily delay the commencement of the operation of the route, I believe that negotiations for agreement on the technical modalities should promptly begin. Therefore, I am appealing as a matter of the greatest urgency that your authorities empower a special delegation to meet with me and representatives of the Federal Military Government in Geneva on the 28th of July. Your delegation should be prepared to discuss all operational aspects of the Cross River route. The negotiations will be held in the strictest confidence,

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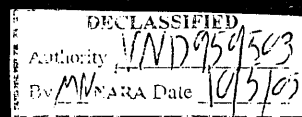
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Page 8

of telegram to LAGOS, GENEVA, PARIS

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ACTION:

and my ~~XXXXXXXX~~ assurances regarding communications remain in effect.

I cannot express to you how strongly I feel about the urgency of this matter. It is of great concern to me and my Government, as I realize it is to you, that the provision of relief supplies to the unfortunate victims of this war be resumed as soon as possible.

I shall be in Geneva on the 25th and shall expect your reply before then. Your formal reply to this ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ and my previous letter should be addressed to my office in Washington.

Sincerely yours,

C. Clyde Ferguson, Jr.

END QUOTE

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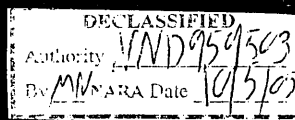
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PAGE 9

0K of telegram to LAGOS, GENEVA, PARIS

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: ~~Embassy LAGOS~~
~~US Mission GENEVA~~
~~Embassy PARIS~~

7. FOR GENEVA

Ferguson will contact ICRC regarding this initiative when he arrives Geneva in order assure they understand it will not undercut their negotiations in Lagos and to assure liaison with ICRC at Naville-Freymond level.

GP-3

END

[ROGERS]

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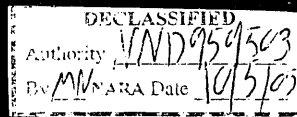
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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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17

ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, UCF 05, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,

NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SPI 02, SS 20, USIA 12, AID 28, IO 13,

SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, RSR 01, 157 W

043025

R 190745Z JUL 69
FM AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2723
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMCONSUL DOUALA
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

C O N F I D E N T I A L LIBREVILLE 745

SUBJECT: BIAFRAN RELIEF

REF: STATE 114939, LIBREVILLE 709

1. NORMAN COUSINS, ON OWN INITIATIVE, HAD DISCUSSION WITH MEMBER OF STAFF TODAY. HE SAID HE HAD COME THROUGH LIBREVILLE JULY 14 ON WAY TO BIAFRA WITH DR. DAVID TAYLOR AND RETURNED LIBREVILLE LAST NIGHT. TAYLOR REMAINED BIAFRA WORK WITH CATCHPOOL ON COUSIN'S "ABC" PROJECT.

2. IN SPITE ARRANGEMENTS CATCHPOOL AND FAREED SAID THEY HAD MADE WITH FRENCH RED CROSS (LIBREVILLE 679) AND THOUGH COUSINS ACKNOWLEDGED HE AWARE CATCHPOOL HAD BEEN INFORMED EMBASSY OR ITS PERSONNEL COULD NOT ACT AS FORWARDING AGENT LIBREVILLE FOR ABC SHIPMENTS BIAFRA. HIS MAIN PURPOSE APPEARED BE ATTEMPT PERSUADE SOMEONE AT EMBASSY OR USIS TAKE ON SUCH TASK. HE GIVEN POLITE BUT FIRM NEGATIVE RESPONSE. DOUBT, HOWEVER, WE HAVE HEARD LAST OF SUCH EFFORTS BY COUSINS AND COLLEAGUES INVOLVED EMBASSY IN THIS WAY.

3. COUSINS CLAIMED HE HAD ESTABLISHED EXCELLENT RAPPORT WITH BIAFRAN REPRESENTATIVE HERE, HENRY UGWU, WHO HAD BEEN

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0098

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VMD 950503
By MVA Date 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 LIBREV 00745 191132Z

MOST HELPFUL. THIS IN INTERESTING CONTRAST TO RETICENCE
EARLIER ENCOUNTERED BY FAREED, CATCHPOOL, O'MALLY AND OTHERS.
ALSO INTERESTING TO NOTE COUSINS DENIAL THERE ANY TRUTH TO
STATEMENTS BY BIAFRAN TEACHERS RECENTLY ARRIVED LIBREVILLE
TO EFFECT FOOD SITUATION BIAFRA MUCH IMPROVED. COUSINS
INSISTED QUITE CONTRARY IS CASE.

4. COUSINS, WHO HAS NOT COME TO EMBASSY DESPITE
HIS HOPES SECURE ITS SERVICES, APPARENTLY INTENDS DEPART
FOR DOUALA TOMORROW, JULY 19 HIS PURPOSE THERE UNKNOWN
TO US.
NELSON

CONFIDENTIAL

0099

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Authority	VND 950503
By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
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SECRET
Classification

20426

19 JUL 69 23 19Z

Origin

ACTION: Amembassy PARIS PRIORITY

Info:

STATE

E X D I S

REF PARIS 11012

FOR AMBASSADOR FERGUSON

SUBJECT: Nigerian Relief

1. In your discussions on relief you should raise question French support with Ojukwu to obtain early agreement on modalities for operation Cross River route. We consider it appropriate that you raise with French your plan bring both sides together in Geneva for discussion modalities Cross River. U.K. High Commissioner Lagos will be informed of your letter to Arikpo.
2. Success of effort bring both sides together in Geneva may depend on British and French as well as ourselves convincing respective parties that the other side will not show, leading to eventual propaganda score or at least self-justification on Cross River vis-a-vis U.S. for responsive party.
3. You should also inquire extent to which French have and will use their influence with Biafrans in behalf daylight flights. What is French assessment of outcome ICRC negotiations daylight flights and implications if no agreement eventuates. Do they expect French Red Cross airlift to expand?

Drafted by
AF:CRM

7-19-69
U/CF:SCS:del

Tel. Ext.
5208

Telegraphic transmission and
classification approved by:

The Under Secretary
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

AF/W - Mr. Melbourne
EUR/FBX - Mr. Edgar Beigel (info)

S/S-O H. Heymann

SECRET
Classification

FORM DS-322
8-65

120423

POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
XR POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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Authority VND959503
By MVA Date 10/5/05



Pch 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State TELEGRAM

SECRET 670

PAGE 01 PARIS 11012 191538Z

44

ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01, SSO 00, NSCE 00, DODE 00, CIAE 00, USIE 00, CCO 00, /071 W
043971

P R 191510Z JUL 69
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5594
INFO AMEMBASSY ROME
USMISSION: USUN

S E C R E T PARIS 11012
LIMDIS
SUBJ: NIGERIA

REF: STATE 119064; PARIS 10932

USUN AND ROME FOR AMBASSADOR FERGUSON

FOR UNDER SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR

1. I RAISED QUESTION OF NIGERIA WITH PRIME MINISTER CHABAN DELMAS JULY 19 IN ACCORDANCE WITH REFTEL, AND GAVE HIM A COPY OF YOUR JULY 15 SPEECH. I TOLD HIM THAT THE UNITED STATES IS MAKING MAJOR EFFORT TO RESOLVE PROBLEM OF RELIEF FOR BIAFRA, IS READY TO SUPPORT ANY CONSTRUCTIVE APPROACH TO PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT, AND QUERIED HIM ABOUT PRESIDENT HOUPHOUET BOIGNY'S THINKING.

2. CHABAN REPLIED THAT HE HAD JUST SEEN HOUPHOUET, AND THEY HAD DISCUSSED BIAFRA. HOUPHOUET SAYS THAT BEST HOPE LIES IN UNITED NATIONS BUT THAT SYG U THANT ARGUES THAT BIAFRA IS AN AFRICAN AFFAIR. FRANCE DOES NOT AGREE WITH THIS ARGUMENT, SAID CHABAN, WHO USED ANALOGY OF CYPRUS IN WHICH UN IS PLAYING KEY ROLE BUT WHICH MIGHT HAVE BEEN CONSIDERED PURLEY A EUROPEAN AFFAIR. (COMMENT: WE HAD HEARD EARLIER FROM ROPARTZ IN FOCCART'S OFFICE THAT THE IVORY COAST, WITH BEHIND-SCENES SUPPORT FROM FRANCE, IS TRYING TO HAVE BIAFRA INSCRIBED ON AGENDA FOR UNGA.)

3. CHABAN WENT ON TO SAY THAT THERE IS NO HOPE FOR A POLITICAL SOLUTION FROM A PAPAL INITIATIVE, ALTHOUGH POPE MIGHT BE ABLE TO CONTRIBUTE TO RESOLVING HUMANITARIAN PROBLEMS. CHABAN WILL SPEAK TO SCHUMANN ABOUT YOUR MISSION AND WILL DISCUSS WITH HIM

SECRET

23

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Authority	VND 954503
By	MMARA
Date	10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET

PAGE 02 PARIS 11012 191538Z

RICHARDSON'S SPEECH, SO IT IS LIKELY THAT FRENCH WILL BE READY WITH ANY IDEAS THEY MAY HAVE TO HELP YOUR EFFORTS ON HUMANITARIAN SIDE OF NIGERIA-BIAFRA PROBLEM. IN ADDITION, IT WOULD NOT BE SURPRISING IF THEY CAME FORWARD WITH SOME PROPOSALS ON HOW TO DEAL WITH THE POLITICAL ISSUE, IF FOR NO OTHER REASON THAT TO TEST THEIR THINKING WITH YOU. BEFORE THEY MAKE ANY FINAL SUGGESTIONS, HOWEVER, THEY WILL AWAIT HOUPHOUET'S RETURN TO PARIS. SHRIVER

NOTE: LIMDIS CAPTION ADDED PER MR. JOHNSTON, S/S-O.

SECRET

0102

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By	MVA
Date	10/5/05

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By MM/ARA Date 10/5/03

POW 27-9 BIAFRA - NIGERIA

4
OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
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120377

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19 JUL 69 1922z

Origin

ACTION: Amembassy PARIS

Info:

INFO: Amembassy ROME
USUN

STATE

Paris 11012 has been raised to LIMDIS

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ROGERS:

Drafted by:

S/S-O: J.J. Johnston

Tel. Ext.

Telegraphic transmission and

classification approved by:

S/S-O: R.G. Rich

Clearances:

~~SECRET~~
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8-65

0104

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Authority: VMD 959563
By: MVA Date: 10/5/05

75



INDICATE:
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 Classification
 Department of State *NIGERIA*
TELEGRAM *120366*

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: USMISSION GENEVA

19 Jul 69 10 16z 120366

STATE

SUBJ: C-97's

REF: Geneva 2451

Schaedler

1. Appears to be different understanding between ~~Kasner~~ and Balair on points made reftel.
2. With respect to cannibalization, Balair clear on our refusal ~~nonconformance~~ using any C-97 for spare parts.
3. Statement ". . . C-97 turned out very expensive gift . . ." does not track with cost data Herzog furnished Dewey in Basle. Herzog cited cost of 18¢ per kg carried for C-97 vs 22¢ per kg for DC-6 (previously considered most economical aircraft in lift). For reasons of economy and confidence in ability to maintain C-97's, Balair requested additional C-97's.
4. Request you convey above points to Schaedler.

END

ROGERS

DRAFTED BY: U/CF: Col. AEDewey:ls	DRAFTING DATE 7/19/69	TEL. EXT. 8783	APPROVED BY: U/CF: SCSchott
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 By: *MM* Date: *10/5/03*

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CONFIDENTIAL *POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA*
Classification
Department of State
TELEGRAM
120372 A
HS B

19 JUL 69 19 02z

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS PRIORITY
US Mission GENEVA PRIORITY
Amembassy PARIS (FOR-FERGUSON) PRIORITY

PARIS FOR FERGUSON

STATE

SUBJ: LSM's

REF: Lagos 6460, 6508, 6526

1. We are fully aware critical logistics need for LSM's, also advantages putting crews to work. From Iyalla's recent visit, however, we sense strong interest FMG part that LSM's be used immediately and perhaps exclusively on FMG side of lines. From other sources (e.g., representations made in SE State to Fletcher) we sense the strong odor of corruption. We also concerned that backing off from highlighting unconscionable hold-up of LSM's in Lagos, and releasing them for use on Federal side will conclusively dash any remaining hope for go-ahead on Cross River.

120372

DRAFTED BY:
U/CF:AE Dewey:ls

DRAFTING DATE
7/19/69

TEL. EXT.
8835

APPROVED BY:
U/CF:SC Schott

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AF/W - Mr. Melbourne

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PAGE 2

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ACTION:

2. Per agreements between Ferguson and Lindt in Copenhagen and with Naville/Freymond on June 24 in Geneva, USG is responsible for negotiations on Cross River and direction of LSM's operation. We strongly disapprove movement Dona Maria to Port Harcourt. We could reluctantly agree release Dona Maria only if Omo-Bare agrees that initial voyage will carry the stockfish cargo to Nwaniba or Itu-ports much more accessible to Uyo.

3. This may give us some political quid pro quo for allowing use of one of the vessels on the FMG side.

It could also:

a. Expose residents SE State to LSM, show them during course of completely innocent mission that LSM not fearsome dragon as per Essuene/Ogun.

b. It would establish feasibility of traversing

DRAFTED BY:

DRAFTING DATE

TEL. EXT.

APPROVED BY:

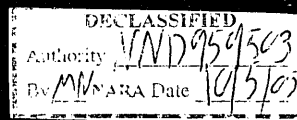
CLEARANCES:

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Classification

FORM DS-322
4-68

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INDICATE:
☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

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Classification

Department of State

TELEGRAM

PAGE 3

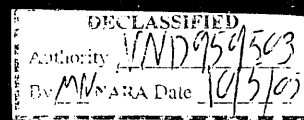
DISTRIBUTION	ACTION:			
	<p>major portion of Cross River route by LSM.</p> <p>c. It would exploit LSM's unique characteristics in its most logical mission profile, i.e., Lagos direct to Nwaniba bypassing bottleneck at Calabar. This, you recall, was original ^{alternative} mission design for LSM when we expected their operation would be confined at the outset to the FMG side. No problem, of course, stopping P.H. en route M Nwaniba should there be use for cargo there.</p> <p>4. We reiterate opposition to back-hauling any commercial cargo. Suggest return trip be used for re-allocation ICRC trucks. Fletcher indicated ICRC desire consolidate makes and models, reduce proliferation at any one location.</p> <p>5. Consider it necessary to hold Dona Mercedes pending Ferguson's forthcoming letters to Arikpo and Biafran authorities requesting definitive reply on Cross River.]</p> <p>GP-3 END</p>			
DRAFTED BY:		DRAFTING DATE	TEL. EXT.	APPROVED BY:
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 Classification

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TELEGRAM

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08

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS

INFO: USMission GENEVA

STATE

SUBJECT: Cargo on LSM

REF: State 84976

Ambassador Iyalla spoke with Ambassador Ferguson
 Wednesday PM and reminded us that USG had agreed to
 give part of Dona Mercedes cargo to Nigeria. Since
 USG did make promise suggest you immediately divide
 approximately equal amounts to both sides (if this
 has not been done yet).

GP-3

END

ROGERS

DRAFTED BY: *10/12*
 U/CF:R Davidson:ls

DRAFTING DATE 7/19/69

TEL. EXT. 4529

APPROVED BY: U/CF:Stephen D. Schott

CLEARANCES:
 U/CF: A Newey

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FORM DS-322
 4-68

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DECLASSIFIED
 Authority VIND 954/503
 By MNARA Date 10/5/02

ACTION		
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E	P	IO
	2	5
L	SCA	AID
3	1	20
U/PW	JTPM	SP
1	1	1
SR	CRM	CRB
1	1	
INT	LAB	TAR
TR	XMB	AIR
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ARMY	CIA	NAVY
3	20	5
OSD	USIA	NSA
34	10	3
NSC		
6		

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
AIRGRAM

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-
NIGERIA

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A-341
NO.

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HANDLING INDICATOR

TO : DEPARTMENT OF STATE

RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
JUL 22 8 30 AM 1969

ANALYSIS BRANCH
DATE: July 19, 1969

FROM : Amembassy LAGOS

SUBJECT : Letter from Ambassador Ferguson to Nigerian Commissioner for External Affairs concerning Cross River Relief Route

REF : State 108204, Lagos 6292, Lagos 6457

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

There is transmitted for the record the text of a letter from The Honorable C. Clyde Ferguson, Special Coordinator on Nigerian Relief, to Dr. Okoi Arikpo, Nigerian Commissioner for External Affairs, concerning the proposed Cross River relief route. The letter is dated July 15, 1969 and was delivered to the Commissioner on July 16.

Enclosure:
As stated.

MATHEWS

Group 3: Downgraded at 12-year intervals;
not automatically declassified.

FORM 4-62 DS-323

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☒ In ☐ Out

Drafted by:

AMB:EGMathews:hs/7-17-69

Contents and Classification Approved by:

Clearances:

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DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND 959503
By MNARA Date 10/5/05

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Page 1, Encl 1, A-
LAGOS A-341

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

WASHINGTON

July 15, 1969

Dear Dr. Arikpo:

On June 18, I received a letter from the "Biafran" Special Representative in New York, stating that his authorities accepted the new relief route. In a subsequent letter, dated June 20, from the Special Representative, it was pointed out that agreement was "in principle" and that negotiations should be held as soon as possible to work out the technical problems of operation of the route.

On the question of negotiations, I again state my preparedness to offer my good offices in arranging a site for the talks and such further assistance as is desired by the parties. I have, therefore, expressed to the "Biafran" Special Representative the Federal Military Government's rejection of Washington and New York as sites. The Special Representative on his part has rejected Addis Ababa and Accra. I therefore exhort both parties to consider urgently and seriously Monrovia and Geneva as alternative sites. I would appreciate hearing from you at the earliest possible opportunity whether the Federal Military Government could agree to either or both of these sites.

I have also reminded the "Biafran" Special Representative that the actual operation of the vessels is under the authority of the International Committee of the Red Cross which will assume the responsibilities of humanitarian protector and guarantor of the operation. I stated to the Special Representative in a letter transmitted July 1, 1969, that: "The United States Government has full confidence in the assurances given by both parties with respect to the safety and security of the ships on the route. For its part, this Government will support fully the efforts of the ICRC to maintain such safety and security."

Sincerely,

C. Clyde Ferguson, Jr.
(Received by cable)

His Excellency
Dr. Okoi Arikpo,
Commissioner for External Affairs,
Lagos.

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By	MMNARA Date 10/5/05



Department of State

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(Pol 27-9 Biafra) - Nigeria

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PAGE 01 ROME 04530 191240Z

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ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, AID 28, SR 01, ORH 03, SCA 01, SCS 04, CIE 00,

CODE 00, JPN 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02,

OS 20, USIA 12, UPW 01, AF 12, RSR 01, 152 W

043290

191240Z JUL 69
TO AMEMBASSY ROME
FM DESTATE WASHDC 1628
INFO AMEMBASSY GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE ROME 4530

SUBJECT: PROPOSED USE OF DONA MARIA

REF: LAGOS 6468 #

1. FERGUSON CONCURS SUGGESTION USE LSH REFTEL SUBJECT
IN CONDITIONS REFTEL AND CONDITION PARA 2.

2. REFI: U/CF COMMENCED DISCUSSIONS JOE IYALLA AND
TRANSPORTATION RE USE OF LSH'S. IYALLA INFORMED U/CF
WILLING TO DISCUSS ALTERNATIVE USES LSH PROVIDED FMG
WANTED MORE COOPERATION IN SETTING UP DISCUSSIONS FOR CROSS
RIVER OR ALTERNATIVE SURFACE ROUTES. END FYI.

3. FERGUSON STRONGLY OF OPINION USG MUST KEEP CROSS RIVER
AS COMPETITIVE ROUTE BEFORE FMG. IN LIGHT COPENHAGEN
AGREEMENT BETWEEN ICRC AND U/CF CAN SEE NO PROBLEM IN SUCH
TAKING OF ACTION BY USG.

EXEMPT FROM AUTOMATIC DECONTROL. ACKLEY

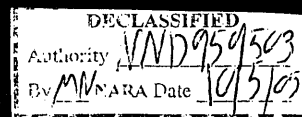
REF: # REFERENCE BELIEVED INCORRECT.

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Oct 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 06518 191137Z

17
ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, EUR 17, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07,
L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, SCS 04,

SCA 01, SR 01, ORM 03, AID 28, RSR 01, 151 W

043049

R 191040Z JUL 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7870
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 6518

SUBJ: NIGERIAN RELIEF - ICRC

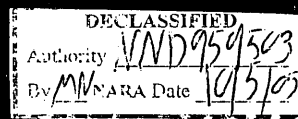
REF: GENEVA 2530

①
PARA 3 REFTEL REPORTS DELAY VISITING ENUGU BY NAVILLE DUE
REFUSAL BY CAPTAIN DICKSON GRANT CLEARANCE. BELIEVE THAT
THERE IS SOME MISUNDERSTANDING OF NAVILLE COMMENTS TO VOLAG
MEETING. TO KEEP RECORD STRAIGHT, AND THIS CONFIRMED BY ICRC
LAGOS, FACTS OF MATTER ARE THAT NAVILLE MADE REQUEST WHICH
GRANTED TO GO TO ENUGU ON SUNDAY AND PLANE EXPECTED INTO LAGOS
SATURDAY FOR THIS PURPOSE. PLANE, HOWEVER, GROUNDED ENROUTE TO
LAGOS FOR LACK OF FUEL AND NAVILLE SO NOTIFIED SATURDAY AND
DECISION MADE ON SATURDAY FLY ENUGU ON MONDAY. MONDAY MORNING
WHEN NAVILLE WENT TO AIRPORT DICKSON DID STOP HIM. HOWEVER
THIS MATTER RESOLVED WITH 5 OR 10 MINUTES BY TELEPHONE
CALL TO ENAHORO WHO PHONED ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF KATSINA WHO
PHONED BACK TO DICKSON THAT NAVILLE AUTHORIZED LEAVE.
NAVILLE DID NOT SEE ARIKPO UNTIL TUESDAY NOR DID ARIKPO PLAY
ANY ROLE IN CLEARING UP THE BRIEF AIRPORT PROBLEM.

GP-4
MATHEWS

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Pri 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, UCF 05,

UPW 01, CIAE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04,

RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, E 15, RSR 01, 173 W
----- 043953

R 191320Z JUL 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7877
INFO AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMCONSUL KADUNA
AMCONSUL IBADAN
CINCSTRIKE/CINCFEAFSA
DIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 6529

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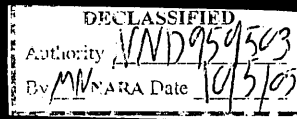
SUBJ: NIGERIAN RELIEF: GOWON EXCHANGE WITH CANADIAN OBSERVER

1. CANADIAN HICOM (PROTECT) SHOWED US COPY TELEGRAM DEPARTING CANADIAN MEMBER INTERNATIONAL OBSERVER TEAM (HAMILTON) SENT OTTAWA AFTER HIS FAREWELL CALL ON GOWON JULY 18.

2. ON CROSS RIVER RELIEF ROUTE, GOWON TOLD HAMILTON (AS REPORTED LOCAL PRESS TODAY) THAT HIS MAIN CONCERN WAS SECURITY OF SHIP, AND HOW WORK OUT DETAILS GETTING DONA MERCEDES TO DESTINATION. REBEL ACTIVITY WAS REAL PROBLEM. HAMILTON SAID GOWON TOLD HIM "CAN YOU IMAGINE AMERICAN REACTION IF ANYTHING HAPPENED TO THAT SHIP?" GOWON ALSO SAID ANTI-IBO FEELING OF PEOPLE IN SOUTH-EASTERN STATE A FACTOR IN CONSIDERING WHAT COULD BE DONE ON CROSS RIVER ROUTE. GOWON RECOGNIZED SURFACE ROUTE BEST WAY MEET RELIEF NEED.

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 06529 191531Z

3. ON AIR CORRIDOR, GOWON REITERATED FMG POSITION AS SPELLED OUT TO NAVILLE, SAYING IT WOULD BE INTERESTING SEE IF OJUKWU WOULD ACCEPT. HOPED NAVILLE WOULD COME UP WITH REPLY FROM OJUKWU SOON, BUT NOTHING YET. IN ANSWER QUESTION, GOWON SAID HE WOULD WELCOME FLIGHTS OUT OF BIAFRA BRINGING WOUNDED OR ILL, ESPECIALLY CHILDREN, "IF THAT WILL HELP RELIEVE SUFFERING."

4. IN SAME VEIN, GOWON REPEATED STATEMENT HE HAS MADE BEFORE, I.E., THAT FMG DELIBERATELY NOT RPT NOT MOUNTING "BLIND, ALL-OUT ASSAULT" ON REBELS BECAUSE PROBABLE INCREASE LOSS OF CIVILIAN LIFE WHICH THAT KIND OPERATION WOULD ENTAIL. GOWON INSISTED FMG OPERATIONS PLANNED WITH REGARD TO HIS CODE OF CONDUCT, WHICH DESIGNED MINIMIZE LOSS CIVILIAN LIFE. HE TOLD HAMILTON "WE WANT THEM BACK, NOT TO KILL THEM."

5. FROM TONE HAMILTON REPORT, IT CLEAR GOWON DEEPLY CONCERNED CURRENT STATUS RELIEF AFFAIRS FOLLOWING NAVILLE MEETING. GOWON REPORTEDLY ANXIOUS RELIEF CONTINUE. HE TOLD HAMILTON, IN FLAT CONTRADICTION STATEMENT ATTRIBUTED TO AWOLowo, THAT FMG DOES NOT RPT NOT REGARD STARVATION AS LEGITIMATE WEAPON AGAINST REBELS. HIS PROBLEM IS BALANCING RELIEF AGAINST SECURITY CONSIDERATIONS, AND HE SEEMED IMPLICITLY LOOKING TO ICRC OR OTHER AGENCY HELP DEVISE SOME WAY GET LEGITIMATE RELIEF TO REBELS WITHOUT CREATING ANY MORE MILITARY DISADVANTAGE THAN FMG ALREADY IMPOSING ON ITSELF BY FMG CODE CONDUCT.

GP-4

MATHEWS

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By	MMNARA Date 10/5/05



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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, NEA 13, IO 13, UCF 05, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02,

INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, SCSE 00,

SCA 01, AID 28, UPW 01, SR 01, ORM 03, RSR 01, 155 W
042221

R 181610Z JUL 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7854
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA UNN
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA UNN
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY UNN
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV UNN
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE UNN
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USIA WASHDC

UNCLAS LAGOS 6492

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN PRESS ROUND-UP 18

1. TRIBUNE EDITORIAL TITLED "THIS IS HYPOCRISY" COMMENTS ON UNDER SEC RICHARDSON'S TESTIMONY BEFORE SENATE COMMITTEE. REFERRING, WITH QUOTE, TO STATEMENT THAT USG DID NOT WANT TO IMPOSE MORAL CONCEPTS ON OTHER NATIONS, BUT DID FEEL OBLIGATION TO RELIEVE HUMAN SUFFERING. TRIBUNE STATES "BY TAKING SEVERAL URGENT STEPS TO HELP RESTORE FLOW OF RELIEF SUPPLIES INTO SO-CALLED BIAFRA US IS TRYING TO IMPOSE OWN MORAL CONCEPTS ON NIGERIA. FOR IT IS VIEW OF NIGERIAN THAT IT MORE IMPORTANT TO END WAR THAN TO SEND RELIEF SUPPLIES TO REBELS FIGHTING AGAINST THEIR OWN COUNTRY. US, BY ITS PRESENT ACTIONS, QUESTIONING OUR RIGHT TO DO WHAT WE CONSIDER BEST FOR OUR OWN COUNTRY. IN SECOND PLACE, IT

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05



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LITTLE HARD TO SWALLOW PROPAGANDA THAT US HAS OBLIGATION TO RELIEVE HUMAN SUFFERING. REALLY? HOW MUCH HUMAN SUFFERING HAS US RELIEVED IN SOUTH VIETNAM? HOW MUCH AMONG AMERICAN NEGROES". EXPRESSES TRIBUNE'S OPINION THAT US ABOVE ALL OTHER NATIONS SHOULD BE MORE APPRECIATIVE OF NIGERIA'S POSITION BECAUSE OF ITS OWN CIVIL WAR. STATES THAT IF US REALLY WANTS TO RELIEVE SUFFERING, ONLY WAY TO DO IT IS TO HELP END WAR "BY WITHDRAWING ALL SUPPORT, OVERT OR COVERT, TO REBELES AND BY USING WHATEVER INFLUENCE SHE HAS WITH REBELS TO URGE THEM TO GIVE UP REBELLION. ANY OTHER APPROACH CAN ONLY HAVE EFFECT OF PROLONGING WAR TO DELIGHT OF OUR SO-CALLED FRIENDS".

2. ONLY TRIBUNE REPORTS STATEMENT BY ISRAELI EMBASSY "CORRECTING MISLEADING STATEMENTS" ATTRIBUTED TO ISRAELI FONMIN ABOUT AID TO BIAFRANS. STATEMENT DENIES ANY INTENTION OF INTERFERING IN NIGERIAN INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

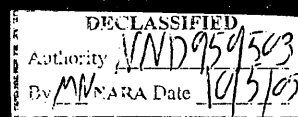
3. SKETCH EDITORIAL, RECALLING STATEMENTS BY CHIEF ENAHORO AND NIGERIAN AMB TO USSR. KUKOBO, ATTACHED CONSPIRACY OF CERTAIN FOREIGN POWERS" TO PROLONG WAR AND DESTROY NIGERIA. URGES THAT WAR MUST BE ENDED IMMEDIATELY AND NATIONAL SECURITY AT HOME AND SCOPE OF INTELLIGENCE SERVICE ABROAD MUST BE STRENGTHENED.

4. TIMES AND POST REPORT STATEMENTS BY COM NATIONAL REHABILITATION OMO-BARE THAT NEGOTIATIONS UNDER WAY ON TECHNICAL ASPECTS OF TRANSFER OF RELIEF COORDINATING FUNCTION FROM ICRC TO NATREHABCOM. ALSO SAID NIGERIA HAD EMBARKED ON "SCREENING ALL FOREIGNERS WHO CAME INTO NIGERIA, CLAIMING TO BE RELIEF WORKERS, IN ORDER TO SORT OUT POSSIBLE MERCENARIES OR REBEL AGENTS". TIMES REPORTS ICRC PRES NAVILLE SAID IN GENEVA THAT FOOD SITUATION IN REBEL AREAS "NOT CATASTROPHIC BUT WOULD DETERIORATE BADLY IN MATTER OF WEEKS". GIVES FAIRLY EXTENSIVE REPORT OF PRESS CONFERENCE DRAWN FROM WIRE SERVICE REPORTS. SKETCH CARRIES LONG AND BITTER ARTICLE SIGNED PETER MAYERS PERSONALLY ATTACKING DR. LINDI AND HIS SUPPOSED ROLE IN NIGERIAN CRISIS. AND OPINING THAT SC IN NIGERIA WELL RID OF HIM AND HIS "SPYING CLIQUE".

5. TIMES EDITORIAL JOINS DISCUSSION OF CHANGING MILGOVS.

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PAGE 03 LAGOS 06492 190900Z

POINTS OUT THAT DISCUSSION IS REALLY ABOUT TWO POSSIBILITIES: ROTATION OF GOVS TO OTHER STATES FROM THEIR PRESENT ONES AND SECONDLY, REASSIGNING THEM FROM POSITIONS AS MILGOVS TO OTHER POSITIONS IN MILITARY, CIVIL SERVICE OR ABROAD. OPINES THAT WHILE ROTATION MIGHT SEEM LIKE GOOD IDEA AS DEMONSTRATION OF ASPIRATIONS TOWARDS NATIONAL UNITY (COMMENT: ALL GOVS AT PRESENT ARE NATIVES OF STATES WHICH THEY GOVERN), IT INADVISABLE AND LIKELY TO BE MISUNDERSTOOD, AT LEAST FOR THE PRESENT. POINTS OUT THAT THIS IDEA WAS BROUGHT UP DURING IRONSI REGIME PERIOD OF UNITARY REPUBLIC AND "GRAVE CONSEQUENCES" OF THAT PERIOD WELL KNOWN. ON SECOND POINT OF REASSIGNMENTS, SAYS THAT ALL BUT TWO OF TWELVE STATES' GOVERNS HAVE ONLY BEEN IN THEIR JOBS SINCE NEW STATES BEGAN TO FUNCTION FIFTEEN MONTHS AGO, EXCEPTIONS BEING MID-WEST GOV WHO WAS APPOINTED EIGHTEEN MONTHS AGO AND WESTERN GOV WHO HAS BEEN IN OFFICE FOR THREE YEARS. THUS, WITH EXCEPTION OF LAST, TIMES SAYS, OTHERS HAVE NOT YET REALLY HAD CHANCE TO CONSOLIDATE WORK THEY BEGAN. DECLARE THAT ALL STATES MUST HAVE EQUAL TREATMENT AND THEREFORE CONCLUDES IT "UNWISE TO REASSIGN GOVERNORS IN SOME STATES WHILE LEAVING OTHERS IN THEIR POSTS...IF FOR REASONS OF EXTREME POLITICAL EXPEDIENCE IT FOUND NECESSARY TO GIVE FRESH ASSIGNMENTS TO GOVERNORS, EXERCISE SHOULD BE CARRIED OUT IN ALL STATES SIMULTANEOUSLY IN ORDER TO LEAVE NO ROOM FOR MISUNDERSTANDING OF FMG POLICY...BY THE PEOPLE".
MATHEWS

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Authority	VND 95/503
By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05

P 06 27-9 BIARRA-NIGERIA

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INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

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Origin
Info:

ACTION: Amembassy REYKJAVIK

STATE

SUBJ: Nigerian Relief - Stockfish

REF: Reykjavik 379 and previous

Letter of commitment and letter of credit were sent
~~sent~~ to bank July 15.

Exempt END

119901

ROGERS

Drafted by PS LPH
EUR/SCAN:PEStoring:acw 7/18/69 Tel. Ext. 4209 Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: EUR/SCAN - Paul R. Hughes
Clearances: PH
AID/AFR/CWA - Mr. North (subs)

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Authority VMD 959503
By MVA Date 10/5/00

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA- NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**
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CONFIDENTIAL 874

PAGE 01 COTONO 00762 181656Z

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ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, SR 01, ORM 03, UPW 07, IO 13, SCS 04, SCA 01, AID 28,
EUR 17, USIE 00, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00,
NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, SSO 00, NSCE 00, E 15, RSR 01, 155 W
036548

P 181430Z JUL 69
FM AMEMBASSY COTONOU
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2278

C O N F I D E N T I A L COTONOU 762

FOR: U/CF FROM THOMAS

SUBJ: RSM

CHARLES AKRELL ICRC LIAISON WITH GOVERNMENT OF DAHOMEY, ICRC
REFUGEE OFFICER FOR BIAFRAN REFUGEES IN DAHOMEY, AND ALSO ICRC
PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICER HAS INTRODUCED ME TO APPROPRIATE ICRC
OFFICIALS. HAVE TOURED ICRC HEADQUARTERS COTONOU AND FACILITIES
AT AIRPORT COTONOU.

AKRELL (PROTECT) VERY OPTIMISTIC ICRC CAN FLY BIAFRA. BUT
NIGHT FLIGHTS ONLY MEANS POSSIBLE AS BIAFRANS TOO SUSPICIOUS OF
FMG TO ALLOW DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS, CROSSRIVER OR OVERLAND RELIEF
EFFORTS. ICRC PILOTS COTONOU WILLING TO FLY NIGHT RELIEF MISSIONS
TO ENCLAVE WITH OR WITHOUT FIGHTER PROTECTION. (INDICATIONS THAT
ICRC PLANE THAT WAS SHOT DOWN LEFT TOO EARLY WHILE IT WAS STILL
DAYLIGHT AND THEREFORE VERY VISIBLE TARGET.) BUT ICRC HEAD-
QUARTERS GENEVA SAYS NO RELIEF FLIGHTS.

WHILE AT AIRFIELD, SAW ICRC PLANES BRINGING MEDICINE TO BE
STOCKED COTONOU WHEN BADLY NEEDED BIAFRA. (OVERHEARD TELEPHONE
CONVERSATION AT HOTEL BY PERSON SENDING CABLE INDICATING URGENT
NEED FOR MEDICINE IN ENCLAVE.) ROAD COMPLETED AT AIRPORT TO
HANDLE TRAFFIC TO AND FROM INFLATABLE WAREHOUSE BEING SHIPPED
FOR USE COTONOU. ALSO AIRPORT FACILITIES BEING RENOVATED IN
GENERAL.

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By MWA Date 10/5/05



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PAGE 02 COTCNO 00762 181656Z

POSSIBLE RSM TO SANTA ISABEL VIA REGULAR ICRC FLIGHTS FROM
COTONOU AND ALSO TO ENCLAVE VIA FRENCH RED CROSS FROM LIBREVILLE.

ICRC AIRCRAFT REPORT.

ILY, ILZ OPERATION COO; ILW OUT OF SERVICE COO; ILX OVERHAUL TLV
(IRC) FRA, FRB, AND GBK (BEECHCRAFT) OPERATION COO
(SRC) EDU, ERO, ERR, AND ERS OPERATIONAL SSG; ERO DEP STISAB 7/19;
EDT OVERHAUL MUC; ILN (TRANSALL) EXPECTED 8/1 COTONOU.
LOORAM

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0121

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Authority VND 959503
By MNARA Date 10/5/03

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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Origin: ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS
Info: INFO: Amembassy LONDON
PARIS
US MISSION GENEVA
USUN
Amconsul IBADAN
KADUNA

SUBJECT: Nigeria Press Summary - July 18

1. Wash Post carries Alfred Friendly report of Naville press conference Geneva under head Lagos may let some relief in. Marcel Naville said he believed Nigeria would permit three emergency flights by ICRC into Biafra within few days. Would carry vital medical supplies including vaccine and replacement ~~xx~~ teams for relief workers now there. But he had no encouraging word to give news conference about solving basic problem getting sufficient food supplies to Biafra to prevent mass starvation. At present he said Biafra running down its stores protein food supplied night flights past months by ICRC and church organizations. Since ICRC flights cut off for six weeks, Biafra now "eating into capital that cannot be replaced" and present slow deterioration would soon give way to sudden and complete exhaustion of supplementary food supply. Naville said in few weeks may be too late for remedial action.

2. Reporting on week's conversation Lagos Naville estimated shipments to Biafra of 500 tons daily were necessary to maintain "satisfactory" situation.

Drafted by:

AF/P:RLPerkins:mb 7/18/69

Tel. Ext. 2105

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by:

AF/W - Mr. Melbourne

Clearances:

UNCLASSIFIED

Classification

FORM 8-65 DS-322

0122

DECLASSIFIED
AUTHORITY VMD 9503
By MMNARA Date 10/5/00

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

UNCLASSIFIED

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Origin	ACTION: Page 2 of tel to Amembassy LAGOS
Info:	<p>It believed flights international religious relief agencies now transport 80 to 100 tons nightly from supply depots Equatorial Guinea and Portuguese Sao Tome. Naville expressed doubt about feasibility plan for day flights newly proposed by Nigeria. One condition it imposes is inspection each cargo on Nigerian soil. Naville said process would delay flights to point where ICRC plane that used to make four trips a night be reduced to one. He said he had assurances from Gowon and Enahoro that Nigeria rejected use starvation as instrument of war. At another point he noted night flights were least desirable or efficient means getting food into Biafra, others being truck transport by road, shipments by boat from Atlantic up rivers, and day flights. All of these have been rejected by Biafra. Naville said the Biafran rejection had to be accepted as a practical matter.</p> <p>3. NYTimes carries briefer piece on Naville press conference under head Red Cross hopes to airlift some relief aid to Biafra.</p> <p>4. UPI morning July 18 carries item from Geneva: ICRC yesterday disclaimed that renewed starvation was taking place in Biafra. Naville told press conference that despite halt of relief flights to Biafra civil population was still provided with food by ICRC. His statement baffled newsmen as</p>
Drafted by:	Tel. Ext. Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by:
Clearances:	

UNCLASSIFIED

Classification

FORM 8-65 DS-322

0123

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Authority: VIND 954563
By: MVA Date: 10/5/00

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
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Origin
 Info:

ACTION: Page 3 of tel to Amembassy LAGOS

Jacques Freymond, then acting ICRC president, already on June 20 had declared that "relief stocks are almost exhausted" and the death of thousands of children and mothers was a question of days.

END

ROGERS:

Drafted by:

Tel. Ext.

Telegraphic transmission and
 classification approved by:

Clearances:

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FORM 8-65 DS-322

0124

DECLASSIFIED
 Authority: WND 9501503
 By: MWA Date: 10/5/00



10336

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

RS/R FILES

Attention *Mr. Kissinger*
Keep this study together.

July 18, 1969

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S/S:RF
U/CF
HThis document released to
public per *BBishop AF*5-C 121
9/11/75MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HENRY A. KISSINGER
THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: Letter from Congressman Morse

In response to Mrs. Davis's request of July 1, we are enclosing a copy of the Department's reply to Congressman Morse of July 12 and of the Department's acknowledgement to Mr. Chet Husted of Pleasant Valley, New York of July 11. Congressman Morse had written to Mr. Timmons, forwarding a copy of a petition which Mr. Husted had brought in to the Congressman concerning Nigerian relief.

John P. Walsh
For John P. Walsh
Acting Executive Secretary

Enclosures:

1. Incoming correspondence.
2. Copy of Reply to Congressman Morse from Assistant Secretary Macomber.
3. Copy of Letter to Mr. Chet Husted from Ambassador Ferguson.

U/CF:HBSHishkin:sm
7/11/69 S/S # 10336

MICROFILMED
BY S/S: CMS

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

0125

DECLASSIFIED
Authority *VND 954503*
By *MM* NARA Date *10/5/03*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

2446

June 27, 1969

Dear Brad:

Many thanks for your June 20 letter transmitting a petition from Chet Husted regarding Biafra.

I am referring your correspondence to the President's foreign policy adviser for his information and will have an acknowledgement sent to Mr. Husted.

Sincerely,

William E. Timmons
Deputy Assistant to the President

Honorable F. Bradford Morse
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

✓ bcc: Dr. Henry Kissinger for Further Reply.

FILE 97-1 BIAFRA

0126

DECLASSIFIED	
Authority	VND 954503
By	MMARA Date 10/5/05

F. BRADFORD MORSE
5TH DISTRICT, MASSACHUSETTS

COMMITTEE:
FOREIGN AFFAIRS

2446

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

June 20, 1969

Mr. William E. Timmons
Deputy Assistant to the President
for Congressional Relations
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Bill:

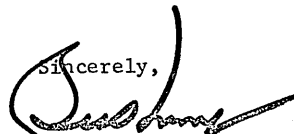
Ham Fish of New York referred one of his constituents,
Chet Husted of Pleasant Valley, New York, to me on Friday.
12569

Husted is a student at Dartmouth College, who is much
interested in Biafra. Ham Fish referred him to me because
of my position on the Foreign Affairs Committee. Young Husted
presented to me a petition which had been signed by some
2000 students and faculty members at Dartmouth and some New
Hampshire and Vermont citizens who live in the Hanover area.

He asked me to get the petition into the President's
hands, and I will be grateful to you for your cooperation.
I would appreciate it if an appropriate acknowledgment could
be sent to Mr. Husted.

With high regard, I am

Sincerely,



Member of Congress

Enclosure

FBM:mm

REC-27-1 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

0127

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND954503
By MWA Date 10/5/05

The war in Nigeria/Biafra is now in its twenty-second month. Because the Biafran people have proven that they are prepared to fight to the last man rather than submit, the war may last interminably, resulting in an even more acute famine that has reached huge proportions because of the Nigerian blockade. Statistics show that thousands of men, women, and children are dying daily of starvation and malnutrition.

We, the undersigned, believe that a massive effort on the part of every sector of the United States government and the United Nations should be undertaken to save the people of Nigeria/Biafra. We realize that it is within the capabilities of the United States in cooperation with other nations, within or without the United Nations, to alleviate the mass suffering that is taking place as a result of the conflict. We are aware that our government has been considering the situation, as evidenced by the following: the State Department has sent representatives to Nigeria/Biafra to obtain facts on the war; members of Congress have visited the area on fact-finding missions; resolutions have been drawn up in the House and Senate, and individual statements have been made by several members of Congress calling for greater U.S. initiative in the direction of promoting a cease-fire. Furthermore, a limited amount of financial support and cargo aircraft has been provided by our government to the relief organizations such as the Red Cross and Joint Church Aid.

However, these efforts have not been sufficient, because the people of Biafra are still dying by the thousands. It is time that our government take immediate positive action to a much greater extent. Our government can work in cooperation with other nations in a number of ways:

1. Launch a massive airlift of food and medical supplies into the distressed areas. Many of the obstacles to relief flights have been removed by Lagos and Biafran authorities, and international cooperation can erase the remaining barriers.

2. Confer with and apply diplomatic pressure upon the nations who are supplying arms to either side to initiate an agreement among them, in particular Great Britain, the U.S.S.R., the U.A.R., and France concerning a cessation of arms shipments and other military aid as a logical step toward a cease-fire.

3. As mentioned above, seek international agreement on settling the crisis through the United Nations General Assembly. The United Nations has shown a hesitation to act that parallels the failure of the United States to take sufficient measures to save the civilian victims of the Nigeria/Biafra conflict.

There is no longer time to hesitate. In the interest of humanity, immediate action is imperative.

This petition was signed by 115 members of the Dartmouth faculty
800 residents of New England towns of
Hanover, Lebanon (N.H.) and White River
Junction (Vermont)
120 student nurses in New Hampshire
1000 students of Dartmouth College

Cliff Husted
Pleasant Valley
New York

0128

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND 959503
By MVA Date 10/5/05

37

July 11, 1969

Dear Mr. Husted:

The President has asked me to thank you for sending him a copy of the petition on Nigerian relief, which Congressman Bradford Morse had forwarded to him.

I appreciate greatly this expression of humanitarian concern by the students and faculty of Dartmouth College, and the citizens of Hanover, Lebanon and White River Junction, who signed your petition, for the civilian victims of this tragic conflict.

My assistant, Mr. Schott, has told me of his talk with you when you called on him to present the petition. As you know, we are faced with grave problems arising from the recent Nigerian Government policy statement on relief. While I am not optimistic at this time, I am hopeful that we will soon find means to enable the relief to continue to flow to both sides of the conflict.

You may be interested in the enclosed statement by Secretary Rogers, in which he sets forth a four-point approach to bring about a resumption of the flow of relief supplies. Discussions are now under way with both sides of the conflict, on the basis of this policy statement.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

C. Clyde Ferguson, Jr.
Special Coordinator on
Nigerian Relief

①
Mr. Chester Husted
Pleasant Valley,
New York 12569
none

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

0129

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VMD 954503
By MNARA Date 10/5/00

37/

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

119263

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

UNCLASSIFIED

Classification

Origin
Info

ACTION: Amembassy ABIDJAN IMMEDIATE
" ADDIS ABABA
" LAGOS
" LONDON
" OTTAWA
" PARIS
USMission GENEVA
USUN

Presidential

Subj: / Press State, on Nigeria/Biafra
/ment

Following statement issued by White House Press Secretary 11:00 a.m. July 18.

1. QTE In the last few days the President has sent urgent appeals to major parties concerned with Nigeria-Biafra relief to reach agreement on an immediate resumption of the flow of food and medicine into Biafra. Relief efforts have been at an impasse following a decision by the Federal Nigerian Government to restrict the relief to closely controlled daylight aerial flights. The Biafrans, however, continue to refuse to accept daylight flights under these conditions.

2. Specifically written appeals have been made to:

-- President Marcel Naville, of the International Committee of the Red Cross, and Bishop Edward Swannstrom representing Joint Church Aid, the organization of religious voluntary agencies which is the other major channel for relief along with the Red Cross,

-- General Yakubu Gowon, Head of the Federal Military Government of Nigeria,

Drafted by:

AF/W:GBSherry:ba 7/18/69

Tel. Ext.

6402

Telegraphic transmission and

classification approved by: AF/W - Roy M. Melbourne

Clearances:

P-Mr. Stephenson (draft)
AF/P-Mr. Perkins (draft)
U/CF-Mr. Schott (info)
AF/CW-Mr. Schaufele

EUR/CAN-Mr. Scott (draft) S/S-Mr. Brown
UNP-Mr. Briggs (info)
EUR/FBX-Mr. Tanguy (info)
White House-Mr. Morris

UNCLASSIFIED

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FORM
8-65 DS-322

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119263

0130

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Authority: VMD 954503
By: MVA Date: 10/5/03

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

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Classification

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Origin

ACTION: PAGE 2 ABIDJAN ADDIS, LAGOS, LONDON, OTTAWA, PARIS
GENEVA, USUN

Info:

-- President Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast, who is in close touch with the Biafran authorities,

-- Prime Minister Trudeau of Canada, whose cooperation and support we are seeking in these appeals to the parties and in other actions.

3. This Administration has pursued several initiatives since January 20 to expand relief, including the appointment of C. Clyde Ferguson as Special Coordinator for Nigeria-Biafra Relief. Ambassador Ferguson has made several vigorous efforts to negotiate a relief arrangement between the two sides and is now on an urgent mission to Geneva and elsewhere in Europe in support of the President's initiatives. The letters are part of a number of new initiatives which the President has directed in an effort to break the current relief impasse.

4. These appeals are expressions of the continuing high priority the President assigns US efforts to relieve the starvation of innocent civilians in the conflict. UNQTE

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Telegraphic transmission and
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0131

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By: MWA Date: 10/5/03



POL 27-9 BIAPRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 984

PAGE 01 GENEVA 00530 181756Z

52
ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, EUR 17, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, NSAE 00, NSCE 00, SSO 00,

USIE 00, JPM 04, NSC 10, SPI 02, SS 20, RSC 01, L 03, H 02, P 04, INR 00,

AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, UPW 01, SCA 01, SCS 04, PC 15, E 15, NIC 01,

RSR 01, 171 W

036960

P R 181715Z JUL 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2209
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
USUN NEW YORK 3323

CONFIDENTIAL GENEVA 2530

STATE FOR UZCF

ROME FOR AMB FERGUSON

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF - ICRC

REF: STATE 118167, GENEVA 2511

NAVILLE'S STATEMENT AT YESTERDAY'S VOLAG MEETING ADDED LITTLE TO BASIC INFO CONTAINED REFTELS. FOLLOWING POINTS ROUND OUT PICTURE:

1. HE EMPHASIZED FMG'S INFLEXIBLE OPPOSITION TO NIGHT FLIGHTS AND WARNED JCA THAT NOTWITHSTANDING HUMANITARIAN NATURE OF FLIGHTS THEY WOULD BE CONSIDERED "RMS FLIGHTS" BY FMG. JCA REPS DID NOT COMMENT.

2. RE DAY FLIGHTS AT PRESENT IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE DISCUSS POSSIBILITY OF FUTURE REVERSAL WITH FMG AND HOPE FOR GREATER FLEXIBILITY WAS BASED HIS OWN ASSESSMENT AND NOT REPEAT NOT BASED ON ANY INDICATION BY FMG TALKING PARTNERS.

CONFIDENTIAL

0132

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND 954543
By MVA Date 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 GENEVA 02530 181756Z

3. CONTRARY EARLIER LAGOS REPORTS, NAVILLE STATED DELAY IN VISITING ENUGU DUE TO REFUSAL BY FAMOUS CAPT DIXON GRANT CLEARANCE SINCE "HE AS OFFICER DID NOT HAVE COMPLY TO ENAHORO ORDERS". MATTER FINALLY RESOLVED FOLLOWING DAY BY ARIKPO AFTER NAVILLE POINTED OUT IMPOSSIBILITY HAVE CONFIDENCE IN FMG FLIGHT PROPOSALS IF DIXON BLATANTLY REFUSES FOLLOW ORDERS. NAVILLE MENTIONED HAVING RECOMMENDED TO ALL CHIEFS MISSION WHOSE NATIONALS INVOLVED TO BE PRESENT AT AIRPORT WHEN ICRC TEAMS LEAVE TO FORESTALL NEW DIXON ESCAPADES.

4. NAVILLE CONSIDERS OJUKWU'S AGREEMENT TO ONE TIME COMMUNICATIONS NIGHT FLIGHTS (WITH RETURN TRIP LANDING AT LAGOS) IMPORTANT TEST. OBJECTIONS WOULD CLEARLY BE BASED ON PRESTIGE RATHER THAN SECURITY REASONS AND WOULD BODE ILL FOR FUTURE. NAVILLE DID NOT RPT NOT MEN-

TION HIS AUDIENCE WITH POPE SCHEDULED TODAY. HE INFORMED MEETING OF INTENTION IMMEDIATELY CONTACT OAU, ESPECIALLY EMEROD, DIALLO TELLI, AND BOUMEDIENNE AS WELL AS OTHERS WHO CLOSE TO BIAFRA.

5. TEN DAY MORATORIUM IN DISCUSSIONS IS PURELY TECHNICAL AND SHOULD NOT RPT NOT BE CONSIDERED AS BREAK OF ANY TYPE. COMMENT: 1) MEETING WAS ATTENDED BY LARGE NUMBER REPS VOLAGS AND DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS INTERESTED IN NIGERIA/BIAFRA RELIEF PROBLEMS INCLUDING AMBASSADOR TUBBY, AUSTRIAN AMBASSADOR, CANADIAN CHARGE, LABOUISSSE OF UNICEF, ETC.

2) NAVILLE SPOKE WITH CONSIDERABLE SELF-ASSURANCE BUT SOMEWHAT DEFENSIVELY. HE ALMOST PLEADED FOR UNDERSTANDING THAT FMG AFTER GOING OUT ON LIMB ON JUNE 30 COULD NOT RPT NOT CLIMB DOWN AGAIN IMMEDIATELY WITHOUT MAJOR DOMESTIC LOSS FACE IN COUNTRY WHERE "AMOUR PROPRE" WAS EVERYTHING.

3) QUESTION PERIOD WAS NOTEWORTHY FOR LACK OF ANY EXCEPT FOR MINOR QUERY BY AUSTRIAN AMBASSADOR. JCA REPS MAINTAINED COMPLETE SILENCE.

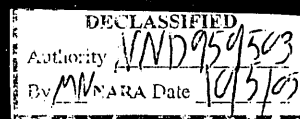
4) OUR CONTACTS WITH VARIOUS AGENCIES AND ORGANIZATIONS BEFORE AND AFTER MEETING INDICATE GENERAL DISAPPOINTMENT WITH MEAGER CONCRETE RESULTS OF NAVILLE'S TRIP. WE ARE POINTING OUT NAVILLE WAS SUCCESSFUL IN REOPENING DIALOGUE WHICH STILL CONTINUING AND FINAL RESULTS NOT YET IN.

TUBBY

CONFIDENTIAL

31

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 029

PAGE 01 GENEVA 02532 181808Z

48

ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, IO 13, EUR 17, UPW 01, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01,

CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04,

RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, RSR 01, 124 W

037099

R 181715Z JUL 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2211
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY ROME

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 2532

ROME FOR AMB FERGUSON

OERNER, WCC, PERSONALLY FEELS NAVILLE CAME BACK EMPTY HANDED RE-
FEASIBLE RELIEF ARRANGEMENTS FOR BIAFRA. HOWEVER, WCC IS WITH-
HOLDING ANY COMMENTS UNTIL RETURN CARR AND NIILUS SUNDAY OR
MONDAY. THEIR REPORT WILL BE MADE TO SPECIAL MEETING CHAIRED BY
CARSON BLAKE ON MONDAY PM. INCIDENTALLY NIILUS' FULL TITLE
IS CHAIRMAN CHRISTIAN COMMISSION OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. (SEE
GENEVA 2427)

TUBBY

GENEVA-2532
7-1869

CONFIDENTIAL

29

0134

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND 950/503
By MVA Date 10/5/05

59 POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
XR POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA 19064
OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

SECRET
Classification

Origin ACTION: Amembassy PARIS IMMEDIATE
Amembassy ROME "

10 JUL 69 01 20Z

Info: ~~XXXXXX~~ EXDIS

PARIS FOR AMBASSADOR FROM UNDER SECRETARY

ROME FOR AMBASSADOR FERGUSON

SUBJECT: Nigeria

REF: a) State 117302, b) State 116676, c) Abidjan 1983

1. If it can be appropriately raised in your conversation July 18 with Chaban-Delmas, request you refer to my July 14 conversation with Amb. Lucet on Nigeria (ref a) and draw upon my statement before Senate sub-Committee as exposition of Administration policy (ref b). If not raised with Premier, request you seek early appointment with subject FonMin in order raise ~~xxxxxx~~ with him.
2. You should tell him that Ambassador C. Clyde Ferguson, our relief coordinator arrives in Paris July 20 for talks on relief problem. We trust this will provide opportunity ~~xxx~~ to sustain dialogue on relief.
3. PrimMin should know that the President has now addressed appeals, alluded to by Under Secretary, to Gowon and to Biafrans via Houphouet, urging agreement on resumption relief shipments. We would be interested in knowing whether French Government believes Houphouet

Drafted by: AF/W:GBSherry:emb 7/17/69
Tel. Ext. 6402
Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: The Under Secretary
Clearance: EUR/FBX - Mr. Tanguy (draft)
U - Mr. Ruser
AF/W - Mr. Melbourne
S/S - Mr. Brandt
AF - Ambassador Moore
U/CF - Mr. Schott (draft)
White House - Mr. Morris (draft)
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FORM DS-322
8-65

0135

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Authority: VND 959503
By: MVA Date: 10/5/05



POL 27-9 BIAFRA NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 616

PAGE 01 LAGOS 06468 181330Z

481
ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01, CIAE 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, CCO 00, USIE 00, DODE 00, /071 W
----- 035047

P 181003Z JUL 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7846

S E C R E T LAGOS 6468
LIMDIS
NOFORN

SUBJ: "BIAFRAN" ACQUISITION CHARTERED CONSTELLATION FOR
THE ARMS AIRLIFT

REF: TDCS DB-315/02899-69, 15 JULY 1969

1. REF MESSAGE INDICATES COMPLETION ARRANGEMENTS LEASE
L-749 (DESIGNATION FOR CARGO CONVERSION CONSTELLATION) FOR
AIRLIFTING ARMS SAO TOME TO "BIAFRA". PRESUME DEPARTMENT WILL
ATTEMPT ASCERTAIN NATIONALITY AND REGISTRATION AIRCRAFT WITH
VIEW TO DOING WHATEVER POSSIBLE TO PREVENTING SUCH USE IF
PLANE US REGISTERED.

GP-2

NOTE: LIMDIS CAPTION ADDED PER MR. MARSH. S/S-O.

7-18-69
6468

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Authority VND 954503
By MVA Date 10/5/05

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J/WP

Geographic

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EUR 10
NEA 8

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Other

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USIA 4
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AA/EA 3
AA/NESA 2

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NIC

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2/10/69

0137

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Authority VMD954503
By MVA Date 10/5/05

66

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

SECRET
Classification

08

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Origin
Info:

ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS

STATE

Ref: Lagos 6468

Reftel raised to LIMDIS.

END

841611

ROGERS:

①

Drafted by: S/S-0 Mr. Marsh:ek	Tel. Ext. 4141	Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: S/S-0 Mr. Rich
Clearance:		

SECRET
Classification

FORM DS-322
8-65

0138

DECLASSIFIED
Authority: VND 959503
By: MM NARA Date: 10/5/00

66



POL 27-9 BIAFRA - NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

UNCLASSIFIED 875

PAGE 01 LAGOS 06481 181658Z

47

ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,

P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, ST 01, UCF 05, UPW 01, IO 13, AID 28,

SR 01, ORM 03, SCSE 00, SCA 01, RSR 01, 138 W

036564

O R 181522Z JUL 69

FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS

TO USINT SANTA ISABEL IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

AMEMBASSY BANGUI

INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 7853

UNCLAS LAGOS 6481

DEPT FOR AF/EX

FROM WACASC

SUBJECT: JULY 21/22 SUPPORT FLIGHT

REF: LAGOS 6247

1. ALTHOUGH JULY 21 DECLARED A U.S. HOLIDAY THE FLIGHT WILL BE FLOWN AS SCHEDULED. AIRCRAFT NONAVAILABILITY ON ANY OTHER DATE MAKES IT IMPERATIVE THAT AIRCRAFT BE UTILIZED AS SCHEDULED.

2. WACASC WILL REMAIN OPEN JULY 21 TO LOAD AIRCRAFT AND GET IT OFF ON SCHEDULE. WE WOULD APPRECIATE POSTS' COOPERATION IN RECEIVING AND UNLOADING CARGOES DESPITE HOLIDAY. MATHEWS

(1)

UNCLASSIFIED

26

0139

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VIND 959503
By MNARA Date 10/5/05

75



POL 27-9 BIA FUA-NIGERIA
Department of State
TELEGRAM

CONFIDENTIAL 031

GENEVA-8531
7-18-69

PAGE 01 GENEVA 02531 181810Z

48
ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01 CIAE 000/071 W

037116

R 181715Z JUL 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2210
INFO AMEMBASSY ROME

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 2531

LIMDIS

ROME FOR AMB FERGUSON

NAVILLE TOLD US YESTERDAY HE WOULD LIKE PUBLISH PRESIDENTIAL
LETTER. WE ASKED HIM HOLD OFF WHILE VARIOUS MOVES ARE
UNDERWAY. DEPARTMENT GUIDANCE IS REQUESTED.

TUBBY

CONFIDENTIAL
89

0140

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND959503
By MVA/ARA Date 10/5/05

L I M D I S

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O R 181050Z JULI 69 ZFF-5

FM AMEMBASSY ROME

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE *0000*

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

SECRET ROME 4479

EXDIS

REF ROME 4449

1. ETHIOPIAN AMBASSADOR TO HOLY SEE DID MAKE REPRESENTATION TO POPE ON JULY 16 PER INSTRUCTIONS FROM ADDIS ABABA.

2. FULL REPORT OF TALK WITH ETHIOPIAN AMBASSADOR AND AUDIENCE WITH POPE IN SEPT TEL LATER.

GP-1. ACKLEY

NOTE: EXDIS CAPTION ADDED PER S/S-O, MR. WILLIAMS.

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INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 ROME 4520/1

EXDIS

STATE FOR: U/CF

SUBJECT: PAPAL AUDIENCE AMB. FERGUSON

1. FERGUSON AND EMBOFFI CHRISTIANSEN CALLED ON POPE JULY 18 AT CASTEL GANDOLFO. AUDIENCE PRIVATE WITH ONLY POPE, FERGUSON AND BISHOP MARCINKUS (VATICAN FINANCIAL OFFICIAL AND AMERICAN) PRESENT. AUDIENCE LASTED ONE AND ONE/HALF HOURS.

2. POPE OPENED CONVERSATION BY OBSERVING: "WE HAVE BEEN WAITING TO SEE YOU - YOU MUST HAVE BEEN VERY PRESSED." FERGUSON REPLIED THAT PREVIOUS APPOINTMENT WAS MISSED DUE TO EXTENSION TO STAY IN LAGOS IN EARLY JUNE. EXPLAINED THAT US WAS THEN SO CLOSE TO HAVING TWO SIDES TOGETHER ON CROSS RIVER RELIEF AGREEMENT IT BECAME IMPOSSIBLE TO REACH ROME IN TIME. FERGUSON EXPRESSED APPRECIATION OF PRESIDENT AND SECSTATE FOR OPPORTUNITY TO SHARE USG CONCERN NIGERIAN SITUATION WITH POPE.

3. POPE ASKED CURRENT SITUATION RELIEF BOTH SIDES. FERGUSON SUMMARIZED ENTIRE RELIEF PICTURE BOTH SIDES INDICATING FEDERAL SIDE NOW UNDER CONTROL FROM STANDPOINT OF FOOD BUT GENERAL MEDICAL SITUATION REMAINED POOR. FURTHER INDICATED THAT MUST ANTICIPATE NEW PROBLEMS OF ADMINISTRATIVE NATURE AS RELIEF OPERATION FMG SIDE IS TRANSFERRED TO FMG GOVERNMENT OVER NEXT MONTHS. FERGUSON INFORMED POPE USG BELIEVED MAY BE ON BRINK MAJOR TRAGEDY ON BIAFRAN SIDE. INDICATED

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